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**Turkmen First Secretary Niyazov Plenum Speech
on School Reform, Job Placement**

18300285 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in
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[Speech by S. A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan (Turkmen CP), at the 11th Turkmen CP Central Committee plenum: "Ideological Renovation for Public Education"]

[Text] Comrades!

Communists and all the working people of Turkmenistan stand united in thought and action for the forthcoming All-Union Party Conference, which will analyze the progress made in fulfilling the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and examine questions regarding the further democratization of the life of the party and society and the improvement of the country's entire political system.

These days our party organization in the republic, as in the party of Lenin as a whole, is going through a period of revolutionary upsurge and intense searching for new ways to proceed in political, organizational, and ideological operations. We are confronted by the times with many problems, but we must make the attempt to resolve them all, to find constructive avenues of approach, to strictly evaluate our own efforts, to learn correct lessons, and most important, to act and strive to attain tangible results. It is of the utmost importance to make this effort universal, so that it governs the thoughts and actions of the broad masses of the working people.

For the practical implementation of the strategic course of the party, the speech of M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the February plenum is of great significance. In it he gave a profound political analysis of party political activity, defined priority tasks, and set forth the key problems regarding the ideology of restructuring and the theory and practice of socialism.

It is of fundamental importance for all of us that this plenum of the Central Committee examined the tasks and prospective development of the higher and secondary schools in dialectical unity with the general process of revolutionary transformations taking place in the country. As M. S. Gorbachev noted in his address: "There can be no doubt that everything to do with schools, with the education and upbringing of youth, is directly tied up with the development of socialism and with the restructuring process. Moreover, it represents one of its most important aspects."

The problems of public education were analyzed in relation to the party's ideological activity as a whole, and they were raised to the level of national tasks.

This entire subject was dealt with in a convincing and cogent manner in an address by Comrade E. K. Ligachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo member. In addition, constructive procedures were determined for the effective restructuring of public education directed at the establishment of universal middle education of youth as of fundamental importance for training highly qualified workers and specialists, and at the large-scale reequipping of teaching institutions. Moreover, the goal was established to maintain a single state policy in education through the elimination of departmental barriers and through the creation of a single administrative body for managing public education.

A USSR State Committee for Public Education has been created in the country. Corresponding to this in our republic, on the basis of the ministries of education, higher and middle specialized education and the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, a TuSSR Ministry of Public Education is being created. Single organs of public education will be located in the oblasts, cities, and rayons of the republic. These transformations are called for because of the fact that today our school system, here as throughout the society, is in need of a radical renewal of the very content of its teaching and instruction through qualitatively new development.

In the process of preparing for the present plenum, and with the active participation of members and candidate members of the Central Committee, as well as members of the Turkmen CP Auditing Commission, a thorough study was made of the present situation in the educational institutions, pre-school and adult-education institutions, and basic enterprises. The work of the party committees, the soviets, and management bodies was analyzed with respect to the restructuring of education and the ideological aspect of the restructuring. Many meetings took place between the members and candidate members of the Central Committee Buro and pedagogical groups, participating students, the leading public education activists, representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, and the mass information and propaganda media. It is important that their observations and proposals result in follow-up action and that local party committees take this work under their supervision and bring what has been begun to a fitting conclusion.

Summarizing their findings, it may be said that public education in Turkmenistan has within a historically short period come a long way, having put an end not only to utter illiteracy but having absorbed within broad layers of the population people who are literate and competent with higher, middle, and specialized education.

At the present time 950,000 persons are enrolled in the higher and middle schools of Turkmenistan. The training of skilled personnel is taking place in 321 specialties,

including in 78 specialties with higher qualifications as well as in 101 with mid-level qualifications. Higher and secondary specialized education now has about a third of its workers in the national economy. The preparation of qualified workers within the system of vocational and technical training is growing, and 76 percent of those presently enrolled in it are native-born. Every year 46,000 graduates of VUZes, tekhnikums, and vocational and technical schools enter the labor collectives.

As a result there has been a build-up of state appropriations for the development of public education. Over the past four years they have increased 1.6 times. Plans under the 12th Five-Year Plan for educational facilities and professional and technical training institutions have been strictly fulfilled. In 1987, through all financing sources, accommodations for almost 20,000 more persons than in 1986 were introduced for schools, professional and technical training institutions, and pre-school facilities for children. In the present academic year 42,000 children from age 6 are enrolled, which is 6,400 more than there were a year ago.

All of this is a great social achievement of our socialist order and of Leninist nationalist policy—an achievement of the friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples, mutually enriching their cultures.

Following the April 1985 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, party and soviet organs, economic leaders, together with a large army of educators, began to devote more attention to the schools. They have been demonstrating a businesslike attitude in their work, examining problems at greater depth and developing more clear-cut policies for the restructuring of public education. An energetic search is now being conducted for effective forms of party leadership over the agencies and institutions of public education.

Nevertheless, the radical changes in public education aimed at by the party have not come to pass, and its objectives have not been achieved. In this as in many other areas of life in the republic, during the last decade window-dressing, ostentation, and twisting the facts have had an adverse effect. Violations of socialist standards and principles, which have become widespread among us in the recent past, have inflicted heavy damage on the education of the young generation.

The state of affairs in the national economy, in science, and in culture indicates that the reason for this stagnation and retardation is in many respects attributable to an inadequate level of business qualifications, of vocational training, and general education among many categories of workers. Even now this unhealthy condition is slow in being corrected. Serious errors and omissions in providing for the training and education of the generation now approaching maturity have today become an obstacle to the continuing social and economic development of the republic.

I am obliged to say that the Buro, the Secretariat, the Central Committee departments, and the republic Council of Ministers—although they have adopted excellent decisions with respect to secondary and higher education—have poorly provided for their fulfillment, and that there has been a failure in paying sustained attention to the development of education on the part of the ministries and departments and the local party, soviet, and economic bodies. To this day the notion is deeply rooted in the psychological make-up of many managers that matters of training and education are to be left exclusively to public education organs.

The TuSSR Ministry of Education (Comrade M. Aliyeva), the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (Comrade O. Meredov), and the TuSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education (Comrade N. Bayramsakhatov) have been unsuccessful in restructuring their style of operations. Instead of penetrating deeply into the content of reform, defining its priority directions, and rendering practical assistance locally, they have exercised leadership over their subdepartments primarily through autocratic administrative methods, while at the same time revealing organizational slackness and a lack of clear definition. Many of the measures earmarked for reform have remained unrealized. It must be acknowledged that there has been a lack of energetic support on the part of the republic Central Committee and Council of Ministers. Many leaders in the public education system have labored listlessly. Recently, the opportunity for them to work has been provided, but the initiative has been lacking.

There is no need to assemble proof of the low level of general education training among those graduating from our schools and vocational and technical institutions. In 1987 alone 12,000 applicants to VUZes out of a total of 18,700 taking entrance examinations in the republic were judged to be unsatisfactory. Unusually low in the level of knowledge acquired were the schools of Mary and Ashkhabad oblasts, particularly in Serakhskiy, Kirovskiy, Vekil-Bazarskiy, Kalinskiy, and Ashkhabadskiy rayons. Unfortunately, not one of the party committees attached any significance to this. It is all the more important, however, for the party committees in Mary Oblast (Comrade Ch. Gedzhenov) and Ashkhabad Oblast (Comrade V. S. Chertishchev) to understand that this is political work, inasmuch as today's students are the skilled personnel in the work of restructuring tomorrow.

Analysis indicates that even today a significant share of the teaching personnel have not been undergoing psychological restructuring, have not established clear-cut views, and have not found their places in bringing about a basic improvement in the teaching and educational process. A serious cause for concern is a mood of dependency and an attitude of indifference on the part of many of our skilled workers regarding the search for advanced and intensive methods of instruction. The

teachers have not been placed under conditions of strict necessity to perform at peak efficiency. The meetings and conversations among Turkmen CP Central Committee members in the collectives of the educational institutions in preparation for this plenum once again have convinced us of this shortcoming.

A low standard of professionalism on the part of some of the teachers has had a negative effect upon the quality of instruction, as have the rigid requirements of universal education—to guarantee each boy and each girl a general, secondary-school education regardless of their aptitudes or desires. All of this, in turn, has led to a formalization of the teaching and educational process, to a preoccupation with percentages, and other negative phenomena. It is sufficient to say that the knowledge of one out of every two or three school graduates was judged to be unsatisfactory, while at the same time they received high marks "good" or "excellent" in subject report cards by teachers. What is this? A deliberate doctoring of grades? Whom do we ask about this? The party committee? That is all very well, except, it seems, it considers this a matter for the organs of public education. School-going students in large numbers, however, are being drawn into agricultural work by instruction of the party committees or by the republic Ministry of Education and its local bodies. They have been subjected to repeated criticism for this, but a specific means of combating the abuse is yet to be found. I must emphasize at this point that Comrade Aliyeva continually raises the issue of the undue diversion of those in the schools into sideline activities to the detriment of teaching and educational work. Unfortunately, however, the required support for his view is not to be found. Even in the city of Ashkhabad (Comrade Akhmedov), under the guise of Subbotniks, school-going students have begun to sweep the streets, despite the fact that there are municipal services workers who have been assigned these tasks and receive wages for doing them.

The CP Central Committee will give a party reprimand to anyone who under the pretext of the necessity for labor education exploits children's labor to the detriment of their studies and their education. Children in school should study, and any distraction should be eliminated. The primary party organizations in the schools and in the public education apparatus should take a forceful stand in resolving these issues. A study of their work, however, reveals that their influence on the situation is negligible. What kind of influence can we speak of when the primary party organizations in Murgabskiy Rayon Schools No. 5 and No. 8 held only four party conferences in the course of last year, when these were called for from above, and when they only adopted general resolutions?

Today the primary organizations should make a thorough study of the advanced experience that has accumulated in our country and is now available in other schools of ours, and they should test and introduce new models

of educational institutions, more capable of effectively taking into consideration, directing, and developing the creative inclinations of children and young people.

Recently various workers in the public education bodies, academicians, and directors of VUZes have been endorsing a proposal for specialized schools for senior-class members in the capital and oblast centers. These schools, in our view, are worthy of attention. It is necessary for the TuSSR Council of Ministers and public education bodies to examine and make decisions with respect to them; or else, as an experiment, a tenth class for general education could be opened in a number of VUZes with the aim of preparing university entrants. In this connection, of course, it is important to think through questions of providing students with hostels and food at reduced prices. This is not a simple matter, but it is, I think, also deserving of attention.

On this subject, I think the VUZ collectives should pay close attention to the cherished dream of scholars at the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Education, and the republic Komsomol Central Committee in creating a Little Academy of Science. It is in the process of becoming an organization for children in which about a thousand students can actually join in basic scientific research, satisfy their intellectual curiosity, and develop their natural talents.

Comrades, one of the reasons for the standstill in reform of the schools in our republic is the fact that it has not been fully provided with organizational and methodological support. The methodological service the Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogical Sciences under the Ministry of Education, and the republic's pedagogical VUZes, which have not been fulfilling the tasks that have been set for them, are called upon to invigorate the creative efforts of teachers and to more closely bind together pedagogical science and practice.

The Institute of Pedagogical Science has not been exerting a significant influence upon effort: to renovate the teaching and educational process. Many of its workers are unfamiliar with the particular needs of the schools, and practical working relations with the teaching institutions, including the pedagogical VUZes, and even with the basic schools have not been established. The scientific output of the institute does not reach the practicing teacher. In 1987 the institute published works recommended for publication six or seven years ago. The question arises: Who needs today the products of yesterday?

The urgent problems of today's schools, of the teaching staffs, and the psychological atmosphere of the VUZes and institutes of refresher training for teachers are being addressed in an unsatisfactory manner. Pedagogical science is called upon to move in advance of standard practices, to lead a creative search for teachers, and to instill new ideas and a spirit of creativity into the teaching collectives. It is apparent that the time is ripe to

create in the republic a single pedagogical center devoted to working out current problems of pedagogy and psychology for the entire public education system. At the same time a thorough re-certification of teaching personnel should be carried out.

The guidelines of the February CPSU Central Committee plenum are clear: Intensify markedly the teaching and educational process, integrate the courses of instruction, differentiate the teaching program, and develop the desire of participants to assimilate studies above the required program. In a word, pay the most attention to the development of individual aptitudes. There is an immense amount of work to be done in this regard by researchers, by teachers, and the public education bodies, and it is work that must be accomplished now, without waiting upon proposals, recommendations, and instructions from above.

Among the key problems confronting our school system today, special importance must be assigned to strengthening the ties between academic instruction and life and work—a basic improvement in the vocational orientation of youth, speeding up the process of their transition to becoming citizens. Although today the schools have been relieved of the duty of training skilled workers on a mass scale, there is no talk of weakening the principle of labor in education.

Among us there are not a few schools and vocational institutions where good relations have been established with collectives of basic industries for providing participants with in-depth labor training. The following may serve as examples: School No. 1 with the Drilling Operations Administration in Nebit-Dar, and the Vocational and Technical School No. 25 with the the Chemical Plant imeni V. I. Lenin in Chardzhou. Understanding of the needs of schools is shown by a majority of the enterprises under the TuSSR ministries of local industry, communications, consumer services, and a number of other ministries and departments.

Nevertheless, a radical turning-point in the organization of labor training for school attendees has not taken place: 183 schools in the republic are without training workshops, and more than 70 percent have no study rooms for service work. Departmental ambitions, as before, and the location of "benefactors," rather than persons responsible for the conditions and development of the school, continue to be dominant in the operations of economic managers. The equipment that is given for instructional purposes to schools and training and production combines is obsolete, and the materials and raw materials are of low quality, as well as being woefully inadequate despite tearful entreaties for supplies.

Moreover, as you know, the republics have been assigned specific tasks by order of the Council of Ministers. It is necessary for the government to monitor their implementation. The managers of many departments and

enterprises and the communists working here do not want to acknowledge that industry is called upon as an interested party to participate in the labor education of students.

There is one other vital aspect of the labor indoctrination of young people. More than 70 percent of the general-education schools in the republic are located in rural areas. Production brigades made up of students are called upon to play an important role in labor education here. We have more than 800 of them. But the operational principle of most of them, as previously, continues to be to hope for the best. The brigades do not always have land, equipment, and fertilizer set aside for them, nor do they secure the services of good instructors. The labor of the young people, as a rule, is used for the most labor-intensive manual work, especially during the period of weeding and harvesting.

We are requesting the chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee and a member of the Central Committee Buro, Yu. K. Mogilevets, to take the student brigade operation under his personal supervision.

Labor education will have a major impact if we continue to develop in a thorough and comprehensive way student agriculture and student industrial production brigades; if we provide them with everything they need; if we include the kolkhozes in the production structure; and if we make the conversion to the principles of the collective contract. This arrangement will permit us to teach young people the fundamentals of agriculture and up-to-date forms of organizing labor, while instilling in them a love of the land and adding substantially to our agricultural output. This kind of labor education is the best form of vocational orientation program for young people.

Rayon and city executive committees, together with the public education bodies and the TuSSR State Committee for Labor, should deal with this matter on a personal basis. The absence of personal responsibility, however, has come to a point where many of those graduating from schools lack clear guidelines for selecting an occupation. This comes about because the existing system of vocational guidance and job description in the comprehensive teaching and production schools is divorced from existing requirements of skilled work crews in the rayons, cities, and oblasts of the republic. For this reason only 22 percent of those graduates placed in jobs in 1987 are at work in the fields for which they were trained.

Comrades, we must seriously concern ourselves with finding a solution to the growing problem of youth job placement. This problem has become increasingly acute because of the transition by the enterprises and organizations to full cost-accounting and self-financing. In 1987, of those graduating from general education schools, 5.4 percent (2,700) remained outside of the production sphere, a large percentage of whom—twice as many as in 1985—were young women. In Krasnovodsk Oblast this problem is acquiring an acute social aspect.

Here, they are unable to place every fourth young man or woman in jobs. It is quite impossible to agree with the position taken here by the oblast leaders, Comrade E. T. Metrin and Comrade Babadzhanov, who have assessed the situation as it has developed, but who are unable to bring about a change for the better.

The situation requires that matters concerned with vocational guidance, labor education, and job placement of youth should be kept constantly in sight by party and soviet bodies. It is necessary for the TuSSR Council of Ministers, public education bodies, and the leaders of the ministries and departments to be involved in resolving these issues; for we are discussing a matter of social rights bearing upon the future of the emerging generation.

A vital role in this respect belongs to the system of vocational education in which about 28,000 workers in 156 specialties are trained annually. In 1987 the percentage of workers trained in vocational schools in relation to the total volume of worker-training in the republic was more than 40 percent.

But if we move from figures to an objective appraisal of the actual system of vocational education according to final results, we see an extremely unattractive picture. Cadres of workers emerge from our institutions who, upon entering industry, reveal a lack of knowledge of modern equipment and technology, and are frequently lacking in elementary working skills. On an average, 15 percent of those graduating from vocational schools in 1987 are not working in their fields of specialization, and 36 percent have not secured a position in industry. A locomotive works and the oblast printing plant in Krasnovodsk, as well as a number of subdepartments of the TuSSR Ministry of Water Resources and certain other enterprises, have flatly refused to accept vocational school graduates. At fault in this respect are not only the ministries and departments, for which the worker cadres have been trained, but also the republic Gosplan and State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education. For too long a time the planning and preparation of qualified workers has been going on without taking into consideration the genuine requirements of the enterprises. All of this results in serious problems in youth job placement.

What is the way out of this situation? It is of the utmost importance for the TuSSR Council of Ministers, the TuSSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and the planning bodies to complete the transition to training skilled workers only on the basis of management contracts between the vocational schools and the basic enterprises. The contract system undoubtedly will strengthen material incentives and increase the responsibility of the enterprises for the use of skilled workers. It will also facilitate the development of the conditions necessary for their labor and daily existence as well as the investment of greater resources for strengthening the material base of the vocational institutions.

It is all the more essential that because of their relationship with the vocational schools as consumers, a major-

ity of the ministries and their managers should concern themselves with the providing for these institutions in terms of equipment. Out of 98 vocational schools, 44 are situated in buildings that have been adapted to their purposes, which lack special study rooms, laboratories, workshops, lathes, machinery, and other equipment. All of these shortcomings have a pronounced effect on the quality of knowledge and practical skills acquired by the students. I think the TuSSR Committee for Vocational and Technical Education behaved correctly, demonstrating to a marked degree daring as well as initiative, in closing down a series of branches, together with eight vocational schools, the material and technical base of which failed to meet even rudimentary requirements.

TuSSR Gosplan and the republic State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education should consider the elimination of multi-specialty schools and begin to develop major specialized training institutions on a territorial, branch, and inter-branch basis. Obviously, it is necessary to examine the question of creating on a group basis rural vocational schools, the majority of which lack the requisite material base, and major specialized training institutions that could become oblast centers for training workers entering the system of the State Agro-Industrial Committee.

As you know, Comrades, the vocational schools of the RSFSR and the Ukraine have been rendering substantial assistance to the republic in training qualified workers. But unfortunately we have not been making use of the workers that have been trained in an efficient manner. During 1987 in the republic 217 of these vocational school graduates were rejected for job assignments, and these, it is generally recognized, are highly qualified specialists. Among the enterprises that have requisitioned training for workers but have not accepted them for work are Turkmenkhimmontazh (58 persons), TZAU (70), the Chardzhou Chemical Plant (22), and Ashkhabad Oil-Drilling Machinery Trust (24). It is necessary for the TuSSR Council of Ministers, the TuSSR State Committee for Labor, and appropriate departments of the Turkmen CP Central Committee to analyze carefully the reasons for this situation and take proper measures so that in future the graduates of vocational schools in the RSFSR and the Ukraine may be properly placed according to their fields of specialty.

The task today lies in utilizing with a maximum return on our investment all the forms of training the supplementary work force, and in increasing in every way possible the prestige and social significance of the various occupations, so as to assure workers a leading role in social life as well as in industry, surrounding young workers with special concern from their very first steps in industry.

The secondary specialized educational institutions occupy an important place in the vocational training of young people. But neither the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education or other ministries

and departments with tekhnikums under their jurisdiction are not giving them adequate attention. The vocational training of the tekhnikums and teacher-training institutions does not meet current needs. The requirements for skilled workers in this field are in a confused state, and there are even difficulties in finding positions for them. The situation is even worse with respect to providing supplies for many tekhnikums, including those located in Ashkhabad. A medical institution has been located in a residence, and a teacher-training institution in an old school building and barracks. The situation is no better at the tekhnikums for hydrotechnology and engineering technology. Meanwhile, not a thing is being done about these problems by the Ashkhabad gorkom and ispolkom, by the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education or the TuSSR Ministry of Health. And there is one other aspect of the matter. We will not be able to restore social justice if, at the expense of constructing vocational schools, general education schools, and kindergartens, we erect institutional palaces such as, for example, the one to be found in Tashauz for the party oblast committee staff—and in a city where there are so many unresolved social problems. In a short time a number of ministries and departments will be abolished, and it is expedient to transfer the premises occupied by them to the educational institutions.

It is necessary for us to establish order in this sector. The basic objective today of the secondary specialized educational institutions is to make the transition to the training of specialists who are broadly qualified for an enlarged group of specialties, to develop special-purpose training, and to raise the qualifications of workers employed on a direct contract basis with enterprises and organizations.

Closely tied up with the problems of the secondary schools are those of higher specialized education. A little more than a year has passed since the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government established basic guidelines for the restructuring of higher education schools. A certain amount of work is being done in the republic to implement them. Efforts are being made to review the existing structure of specialization in accordance with which the training of skilled workers is being done in the VUZes of the republic with the purpose of making it more closely adapted to the present-day needs of the national economy. In the State University imeni A. M. Gorkiy, for example, new specialties have been created in the fields of radio physics, electronics, and applied mathematics, which have brighter prospects for the future; and the agricultural institute is conducting a training program in how to organize agro-industrial production. This year there has been an overall cut of 1025 persons in certain specialties, making possible a concentration of effort on improving the quality of training.

Certain organizational changes have been made for raising the responsibility of students for their studies and of teachers for theoretical and methodological standards of instruction as well as for the final results. Since the moment that the rules were put into effect, about 2,000 students have

been dismissed for unsatisfactory performance. Such an approach undoubtedly strengthens discipline, order, and procedure in the VUZ collectives, but it poses many new problems—particularly, that of finding a more responsible approach to the selection of young people for admission to the VUZes. There have been certain changes made in the organization of the teaching process in a number of VUZes (the state university, the medical and polytechnical institutes). Recruitment of the leading specialists and scholars into teaching work is continuing to expand. The basic resources of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences are being used more extensively in the training of specialists. Eleven branch faculties have been created, and 10 research, experimental, and branch laboratories have been established.

Nevertheless, we cannot but recognize mounting problems, serious shortcomings and omissions, which slow the restructuring of higher education, while affecting the rate of acceleration in the social and economic development in the republic, in the formation of a healthy ideological and political atmosphere, and in the enrichment of spiritual and cultural life.

It must be stated outright that the necessary decisiveness, fortitude, and long-range approach to restructuring the higher-school system has not been demonstrated by the departments for science and educational institutions under the Central Committee; the TuSSR Council of Ministers; the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education; party, soviet, and economic bodies operating locally; the Council of Rectors; or the rector's offices and party committees in the VUZes. For the present, efforts are further hampered by endless talk involved in the forming of plans for undertakings and a variety of inquiries and projects. In a word, an imitation copy of restructuring is being created. The TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and its staff are working without initiative and without administrative energy. The minister, Comrade O. Meredov, and his deputy ministers, Comrades B. B. Ovezov and B. Seytkuliyev, as of now have been unable to organize this operation in the proper way. The measures taken actually have left untouched the principal links of the higher and secondary specialized school system—the faculties, departments, sections, and academic groups.

The offices of the rector and VUZ party committees have still not undergone basic restructuring. Many activities continue to be carried out as before in the old way, using yellowing abstracts and outmoded methods. The professional level of a part of the staff of professors and teachers does not measure up to the needs of the time. The right that has been granted to the VUZes of using up to 15 percent of study time for investigating the latest achievements of science, technology, and public life is not being utilized effectively.

The VUZ collectives have not taken the necessary steps to provide for the rounded development and encouragement of student competitions in studies, instilling in them a sense of responsibility for academic achievement.

There is an absence of initiative and of administrative and party control over this vital area of operation. It is not surprising that a leveling tendency tends to predominate in the VUZes nowadays, putting a premium on mediocrity. About a sixth of the student body receive honor grades from year to year in all subjects. These general conditions apply throughout our VUZes.

I want to focus particularly upon our teaching VUZes, which are engaged in training skilled personnel to teach in our public education system. The situation on the whole, and especially in certain of these institutions, arouses cause for concern and even apprehension. The Turkmen CP Central Committee not long ago made a study of the office of the rector at the State Teaching Institute in Chardzhou with respect to restructuring the teaching and educational process, and it found it unsatisfactory. Indeed, how could the situation be otherwise when in a number of instances, as a result of proficiency tests, up to 90 percent of the graduating students—that is, the specialists of tomorrow—failed requirements within the area of their specialization. Serious deficiencies were also revealed in the education of the student body and among the teachers. Such a situation did not come about in a single year. Why is it that the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (Comrade Meredov), and the party oblast committee (Comrades Tagandurdyev and Dzhumabayeva), which knew about this situation, did not take action to correct it?

It is necessary, Comrades, under such conditions, for the party committees to take action independently if none is required of them—to raise the issues before the higher-standing bodies, but not to wait for somebody to come along and correct things in the institute or in the school, in the kindergarten or vocational school. It is through the efforts of the cadres and communists that matters must be corrected.

Under conditions of radical economic reform and restructuring the management of the national economy, the quality of the training of specialists with economic backgrounds acquires special significances. The situation in this respect for the present is particularly disconcerting. The accreditation of the Turkmen Institute for the National Economy last year showed an unsatisfactory standing, in terms of both scope and quality of knowledge, proficiency, and skill, for a significant proportion of the students and graduating seniors of the VUZ. The trainees lack such skills as how to determine the cost of production, productivity of labor, and margin of profit, and they are not conversant with the new economic thinking. Recently, much has been accomplished at the the institute. Our overall goal is to help the VUZ to remedy this situation.

Comparable problems and deficiencies related to the quality of training as citizens and as specialists are to be found at the Institute for Agricultural Management and the Polytechnical Institute.

The common causal factor for the errors and omissions made by each of the VUZes lies in the fact that a bold and decisive long-range policy for integrating education, science, and production—towards the establishment of a new type of interrelationship with the branches of the national economy—has not been adopted by the management of the higher schools in the republic. Combined education, science, and production centers, representing a more effective means of increasing in breadth and depth creative ties between these elements within a single national economic complex, are being developed only with very great difficulty. The progressive practice of transferring a part of the study program to industry and to the scientific institutions is developing poorly, and vital new teaching practices are being introduced only slowly.

These oversights, in turn, are delaying the development of science in the VUZes, the potential of which is being inadequately exploited. It is a poor showing when only 14 percent of the teachers, 2 percent of the students, and 7.5 percent of the graduate students are drawn into work on a contract basis within the teaching institutions under the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. With such an approach we will not be successful in bringing about a basic improvement in the role of science in the VUZ's and in speeding up the social and economic development of the republic. It is essential to exploit this reserve to the fullest extent. It would appear to be expedient to develop under TuSSR Gosplan an inter-branch committee, headed by the deputy chairman, Comrade Gavrilov, to coordinate science in the VUZes with industrial production.

Under conditions of democratizing public life and extending the principles of social justice, the question of selecting the most qualified young people for the VUZes becomes particularly important. There is for the present extremely little progress in this area. There is no well-organized ongoing system of vocational guidance for young people, using forms that combine the interests of the society, the branches, the collective, the individual, and the family concerned. It is necessary to make it a rule that the managers of the VUZes visit the schools, talk with the applicants, and pick out young people according to their inclinations and aptitudes for study at the VUZes.

The republic Council of Ministers with its branches and departments, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the VUZes have not taken exhaustive measures to develop extensively direct ties between the VUZes and the enterprises and organizations and to convert to special-purpose training of specialists as requisitioned by the ministries and departments. All support this approach in words, but it turns out that in terms of actions only the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry made a transfer of 100,000 rubles to the TuSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. Stubborn resistance to converting to contractual relations with this ministry has been shown by the

Ministry of Construction, Gosstroy, the TuSSR Ministry of Municipal Services, The Turkmenistan Gas Industry, the Ministry of the Interior, the State Agro-industrial Committee, and the TuSSR Ministry of Light Industry, as well as others. And this is occurring under conditions in the republic in which 20 percent of the positions for specialists are filled by on-the-job trainees.

We must increase the demands made of TuSSR Gosplan (Comrade V. Ye. Abramov) for improving the planning system for the training and placement of young specialists, including plans for restricted contracts on the basis of direct ties. For the present there are serious dislocations in this system, leading to the wasteful use of personnel. About 5,500 specialists with diplomas currently work in positions that do not require that level of education. At the same time, in the general-education schools today, particularly in rural areas, there is an acute shortage of teachers: in mathematics, a shortage of 945 persons; in Russian language and literature, of 885 persons; in the native language, 100 persons; in work-related instruction, 250 persons. Because of an absence of specialists, 170 republic schools have no foreign-language instruction, although in the last three years the teaching institutions have trained 678 teachers with these qualifications—enough to meet this demand three times over.

It is beyond my understanding what happened to these people. The TuSSR Council of Ministers, Gosplan, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education have no control whatever over this matter. Because of serious miscalculations in planning, for example, Chardzhou Oblast has in the past three years been sent more than 2,700 teachers with higher and secondary specialist educations—more than twice the number needed to meet the actual demand. With an approach such as this to personnel placement it will be quite impossible for us to achieve the restructuring of public education in its entirety.

We have serious criticisms to make of the VUZes, especially the administrative staffs of the rectors and the party committees. They have, in effect, brushed under the rug questions concerned with the social, regional, and national affiliation of future specialists, which are of important social, economic, and political significance. A total of 53 percent of the republic population now live in rural areas, but only 21.4 percent of those living on kolkhozes and their children study at the Institute of Physical Culture and only 13.7 percent study at the Pedagogical Institute for the Arts. The question arises: Who is going to foster physical culture and the arts in rural areas? Is this not one of the reasons for their slow social development? This situation must be addressed without delay.

Kolkhoz and sovkhos party committees together with the primary party organizations in the schools should single-mindedly train young people in the VUZes in those particular specialties that they themselves require. In that way there will be trained personnel in the rural areas.

Consider also the intra-regional composition of the student body. Here, too, there are problems to work out in order to correct dislocations. Skilled personnel are essential in all regions, and it is necessary to assure the right social and economic development in each one. But this necessitates goal-oriented selection for admission to the VUZes of the more highly trained young people from all regions of the republic.

In carrying out this work, we cannot for a moment forget that we live in a multi-national country. Further strengthening of the principles of social justice requires that we become more attentive in forming the national composition of the student population. This can only be done through strict observance of the general rules for admission to the VUZes, the main principle of which is the level of knowledge.

One of the best ways to go about solving the problem of selecting young people for the VUZes is to wage a decisive, uncompromising battle with any sort of favoritism with respect to race, land holdings, lineage, family or friends, or any form of pulling strings.

As we know, the sixth plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, which followed the 23d Congress, laid the foundations for the republic's moral restoration to health, including in and around the VUZ collectives. However regrettable it may be, at some of the collectives, such as, for example, the institutes of agriculture, physical culture, and polytechnical science, quite recently we encountered such a shameful practice as accepting bribes. These instances have received a party assessment, but favoritism, cronyism, nepotism, and other negative tendencies persist, exerting a negative influence on the selection of young people for admission to the VUZes and distorting social justice.

It is time to establish order in this regard, and it is not right for the VUZ party organizations to stand to one side. Why, for example, at the Agricultural Institute, while bribery in the full sense of the word flourished, did the party committee remain inactive and silent? This does not do honor to the rector, Comrade Rustamov. It should be emphasized that primary responsibility for admission to the VUZes lies with the rectors. It is they who must initiate the inquiry into each case of bribery and favoritism—an inquiry that is principled and in the spirit of the party.

The efforts of the party organizations, the VUZ collectives, and the party committees must be directed towards bringing about a fundamental improvement in the stock of professors and teachers. It should be noted that these offenses and a deep-rooted formalism are being eliminated extremely slowly. Frequently there are instances of competitions declared open for specific vacancies, and it often happens that the opportunity for specialists with higher qualifications to participate in them is eliminated. This, comrades, contradicts the spirit of restructuring and democratization, and it favors

admittedly weak teachers who do not know how and do not want to work with young students in a spirit that is in keeping with the demands of the day.

Comrades! At this present critical stage in our lives, the problems of educating this generation of youth are of special significance. On the whole, the generation that is now emerging from our educational institutions is made up of hard-working young people who are devoted to the motherland. As pointed out at the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, however, among certain groups of young people there is a manifestation of a lack of political interest; a susceptibility to the influence of bourgeois ideology and morality; a weakening of moral principles; and a penetration of nationalist views into the youth environment. This generalization fully applies to the young people of our republic. These existing deficiencies in our educational system are slow in being eliminated.

As a result, the question arises of bringing about a qualitative improvement in teaching, above all, in the social disciplines. The activities of teachers and lecturers of the social sciences, however, continue to go on at a distance from the vitally important problems of life. They do not provide for the present day to the full extent necessary the ideological and methodological level of classroom work, and they do not touch the depths of matters related to forming the convictions of students and trainees. The mounting interest in restructuring and democratization is still not adequately reflected in the subject-matter of their work.

Substantial shortcomings are attributable to the fact that the focus of attention of teachers and students remains unrelated to the problems of restructuring in the republic. The efforts of social scientists to deal with the problems of education in the VUZes have been extremely ineffective. Currently the teaching social scientists themselves sometimes show a lack of competence, a lack of clarity in their own views of one problem or another past or present, particularly with respect to matters of religion, relations between nationalities, bilingualism, and certain historical facts.

The times call for a broad application of the social sciences to specific, practical issues; they demand that social scientists respond with sensitivity to changes in life as they occur, keeping their eyes focused on what is new, drawing conclusions, making accurate predictions, and providing young people, trainees, and students with intelligible explanations.

In educational work, above everything else, the molding of youth should bring out devotion to the party and the people, and a clear understanding of the meaning of social events. Here, a vital role is played by the study of the history of the country and the republic, and a correct interpretation of it. All of this has a morally profound potential. Unfortunately, until now questions of instilling in young people a goal-directed sense of their history and cultural heritage have scarcely even arisen.

Is it really possible, for example, within a period of 34 hours, which is the amount of time that has been set aside for teaching a course on the history of Turkmenistan in the ninth and tenth classes, to cover both the prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary period? The times require that the course be reviewed and analyzed in a new textbook along with special maps, teaching aids, and films. Moreover, it should address the "blank spots" in the history of the republic, particularly, with respect to the first leaders of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan and the first head of the government, N. Aytakov, together with other undeservedly forgotten people who saw the establishment of Soviet Turkmenistan.

In speaking of instilling in youth Marxist-Leninist convictions, and ideological and moral incentives in the developing individual, mention must be made of the problem of Russian and national bilingualism. Its importance today is increasing because of the growing mobility of the population, the migration of labor resources, and the multi-national character of all the union republics.

However, the present state of affairs attests to a bad situation in this respect. First of all, with respect to the Russian language: Barely one-fourth of the native population in the republic speak Russian freely. The main reason for this is the unsatisfactory condition of Russian language-teaching in the schools, especially in the national schools, where there is an acute shortage of Russian-language teachers. Teaching VUZes in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia are assisting us in dealing with this problem. In 1984 we opened the Ashkhabad Pedagogical Institute for Russian Language and Literature. But the proper facilities for it have not been developed. Party, soviet, and economic bodies have failed to demonstrate a businesslike and efficient approach in deciding the fate of the Institute of Russian Language and Literature. In recognition of the political and social significance of this institute, the government should consider transferring to it one of the best buildings made available by the reorganization of the ministries, departments, and party committees.

Comrades, at this point it should be emphasized that we should pay special attention to making a study of the existing situation and rendering practical assistance to schools in which languages of other nationalities are taught, such as the Kazakh and Uzbek languages. It is no secret to anyone that these are the schools in which the problems of providing skilled teaching personnel, textbooks, and clear teaching aids and methodological literature are particularly acute. The TuSSR Ministry of Education, and the Chardzhou, Krasnovodsk, and Tashauz party oblast committees must take steps to resolve these problems with the help of their brother republics and carry out this work in a purposeful and persistent manner.

It must be said also that matters concerned with the aesthetic training of youth in the republic are to be found in an extreme state of neglect. There is a lenient attitude

towards discipline in teaching art and aesthetics. In more than half of these courses lessons in singing and graphic art either are not given or are given for non-specialists. Art schools and studios and branches of music and art schools for children are developing slowly in the educational institutions. At the present time they exist in only 41 schools. Only 12,000 out of the 900,000 enrolled in schools are engaged directly in artistic activity.

The creative unions headed by Comrades A. Agabayev, Sh. Oradov, Ch. Narymov, and Kh. Narliyev, as well as the local soviet organs and the Komsomols, have not been included in this effort. Serious complaints should be lodged also against the TuSSR Ministry of Culture and the leadership of the Institute of Art, which have been called upon to train highly qualified specialists in the field of art education.

All of this necessitates the development of education in art appreciation for youth. It should include all educational institutions—from kindergarten to the VUZes. It is necessary to solve the problem of trained personnel, to bring about universal education in aesthetics, and to undertake a host of measures with respect to procedure and methods, including the preparation of textbooks and teaching aids in aesthetics and the development of an agency capable of coordinating the efforts of the various departments and organizations in this direction.

The time has come to radically change the attitude towards the development of sport and physical culture among students. As before, we have disturbing statistical information regarding the health of children and teen-agers and the physical training of youth being called for duty in the Armed Forces. In vocational examinations alone in 1987 more than 1,300 youths were found to be significantly underdeveloped physically. The number of psychological and nervous disorders has risen, and many students suffer from heart deficiencies and poor eyesight.

Serious blunders have been made in the organization of food preparation and servicing for students attending republic educational institutions. Public catering enterprises provide for 54-63 percent of the teaching institutions, which is short of the established norm by 60,000 places. At the same time, the task for constructing dining halls at educational institutions is consistently short of fulfillment. As a result a total of 326 schools, including 280 in rural areas, have no public catering for students.

The quality of food preparation remains unsatisfactory. Cases of food poisoning among those at school have increased. It is time, at last, once and for all, to solve the problem of food service in the schools as required. In all the rayon centers it is necessary create rooms and shops for school food catering or base dining halls for centralized provision of school lunches. Personal responsibility for this work lies with the rayon ispolkom chairmen.

The unsatisfactory utilization of funds allocated to the TuSSR Ministry of Education for free or subsidized food service for students from families either with many

children or relatively low incomes requires attention. Out of the 2.7 million rubles allocated for this purpose during the current year, only 1.5 million rubles or 57 percent have been used up. This, of course, is not normal. Why is it that those students who are in need of free or subsidized food when at school are not being recognized by the teaching collectives? This matter has been overlooked by the bodies of public education and trade as well as by the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, and it has not been given the social importance that it deserves.

The food-catering situation in the schools demands significantly increased attention to these matters by soviet and economic bodies. Party committees should review this problem as one of the most important tasks of school reform.

We have serious shortcomings in the organization of health facilities for physical culture and sports which do not really have a mass following. The TuSSR State Committee for Sports (Comrade A. Izmukhamedov) and the public education and health bodies have not yet worked out a single, coherent system for instilling in youth the vitally necessary habits of physical culture. The state of affairs in this area requires special attention by party committees. Concern for the health and physical conditioning of the generation now maturing should be highlighted. It is necessary to use all available sports facilities, halls, and playing fields without exception to exploit this potential. Moreover, it is necessary for the TuSSR Council of Ministers and the TuSSR State Committee for Sports to take decisive steps to strengthen and develop the supply base for physical culture and sports.

These deficiencies of ours in education are directly related to the fact that nihilism, acquisitive tendencies and a cult of profit-making are penetrating the hearts of young people and inevitably encouraging anti-social behavior and law-breaking among a certain segment of students.

Let us consider just the problem of law violations among those below the age of adults. We have already noted repeatedly that there is a lack of coordination in this respect between the pedagogical and labor collectives and between the law enforcement bodies and the Komsomols. Supervision of potential violators is formal in nature. Crime has increased among students in Krasnovodsk Oblast (Comrade Mitrin), in Chardzhou Oblast (Comrade Taganduriyev), and in Ashkhabad Oblast (Comrade Chertishchev). At the same time, there is a reported rise in mercenary crimes, such as theft and robbery. Twenty-seven youths have been charged with drug abuse offenses. Has anyone expressed concern about this? No.

As analysis shows, a majority of offenses are committed by youths in their time off from studies. One of the reasons making this possible is that there is no proper, competent organization of their leisure time. It is intolerable that many schools, vocational schools, and tekhnikums should close right after classes. A majority of the

heads of these institutions are simply playing it safe—they are afraid that something unusual might happen. As a result many young fellows, who are surrounded by quite a number in need of increased attention and care, fall under the influence of the street and find for themselves other "leaders."

Forced idleness induces young people to break the law and creates a climate conducive to the introduction of drunkenness and drug abuse. It is the duty of the party committees, the soviets of people's deputies, law enforcement agencies, public education bodies, and the Komsomols to give young people their personal attention, and to cease using administrative measures when there is at their disposal a rich arsenal of educational resources.

I should like to pause to consider one other disturbing set of circumstances: the feudalistic, land-owner attitudes of parents which infringe upon the legal rights of young women to participate in active social life and to work at their own discretion. Although aware of this situation, the teaching collectives and the primary party organizations in the schools exhibit utter indifference to the fate of young men and young women, preferring not to interfere in conflicts which arise in the families of students.

The agencies and institutions of public education and the party committees should pay increased attention to patriotic and international education. It is essential to attract to this work the most competent people, who have the desire and capacity to perform this activity while introducing effective forms and methods, embodying the experience of the best teachers. At the same time, it is necessary to learn to draw correct conclusions from events taking place in the field of international affairs, and to make the transition from dutifully attended, mass undertakings to specific work in classes, in auditoriums, in hostels and places of residence of each young man and woman, learning to play an active part in the formation of their world-view.

Internationalism must be taught through concrete examples. Take, for example, a film about an earthquake in Ashkhabad, which recently was shown on television. It would not be a bad idea to arrange to show it in every school since this is an example of internationalism in action. How much the teachers could convey to students regarding the help given to the severely damaged city by the whole country.

In the upbringing of children and of youth as a whole we should increase the degree of responsibility not only of teachers and educational institutions but of the family. It is necessary to organize the mass teaching of universal education in such a way as to become a means of educating, and an effective form of influencing, the population by encompassing all aspects of the educational process.

The Central Committee of the republic Komsomol (Comrade Ya. P. Gundogdyev) bears an enormous amount of blame for these shortcomings. There is much

too wide a gap between the Central Committee, together with the oblast, city, and rayon committees, and the mass of youths in schools, vocational schools, and VUZes. Komsomol staff members should continually appear in youth groups, inspire them with enthusiasm for restructuring, be aware of everything that is going on in them, and stir in them the initiative to accomplish good deeds.

The accomplishment of tasks for restructuring higher and secondary schools in the republic is held back by the unsatisfactory state of material support for public education. The negative consequences of assigning what is left over in planning the development of the social sphere, while ignoring demographic factors, has led to difficult consequences. Over the period of the two preceding five-year plans the added number of schools has been twice as great as rate of growth in the supply base. As a result a steady increase in the number of class shifts and overcrowding in classes have been observed, and extracurricular activity by the teachers has been curtailed. The obsolete and deteriorated facilities for public education should be renovated at a far more rapid rate.

Judge for yourselves. Forty percent of school buildings are found to be in broken-down condition or require major repair, and more than a third are located in buildings constructed for a different purpose. A majority of them lack central heating, plumbing, and sewage facilities. Tashauz Oblast, where every fifth school is in run-down condition, is in especially difficult circumstances. I want to emphasize once again that it is the executive committees of people's deputies that must answer for the school supply situation. The repair of the schools must be carried out by them alone, the materials provided from reserve and republic stocks, and the representatives of the oblast executive committees bear personal responsibility for seeing that this work is done.

We cannot avoid by remaining silent about the sad situation that has developed with respect to preschool institutions for children, which accommodate only 30.9 percent of children (that is, twice as low as the average indicator for the union); and the figure for rural areas comes to no more than 13.9 percent. A solution to the problem of public preschool education has been particularly neglected in Mary and Asikhabad oblasts, and in Kazandzhikskiy, Sakar-Chaginskiy, and Takhta-Bazarskiy rayon the number of children in preschool facilities total no more than 7-8 percent. These statistics are no longer a reproach but an indictment of party, soviet, and economic leaders in the above-mentioned oblasts and rayons.

In recent years measures have been taken in the republic to remedy the situation. Plans for the current Five-Year Plan provide through all sources of financing for from 1.5 to 2.4 times more for schools, preschool facilities, and vocational training institutions than during the previous Five-Year Plan. But even this sharply increased

growth rate cannot bring about a radical improvement in the material facilities for public education. Today 64 percent of the schools operate in two or three shifts.

A genuine solution of the existing situation would be to increase voluntarily the amount of construction of buildings for educational institutions and preschool facilities and related buildings with the resources of the economy. In 1987 supplementary material resources worth 15 million rubles were allocated in the republic to voluntary construction of social and communal facilities. Provisions were made to introduce into the school system alone accommodations for more than 13,000 students. But the potential was actually fully exploited only in Chardzhou Oblast. Here, more than 21 percent of the social and communal facilities introduced in the past year were built in this way, including schools for 4,700 and preschool facilities for 740. However, the party committees and oblast, city, and rayon executive committees elsewhere have not learned from this experience.

The problem of the supply base for higher and secondary specialized education is even more acute. Space provided for laboratory study here is almost half that provided for the country as a whole; and for the institutes of medicine and language and literature, it is more than three times less.

But it is obvious that neither the TuSSR Council of Ministers, nor the oblast, city, and rayon committees, nor the building ministries and their departments, nor those of the Central Committee want to get to the heart of these problems. The construction of a building complex at the Polytechnical Institute in Ashkhabad has been in progress for 20 years. The volume of contract work last year for this project was only 36.6 percent completed. Construction completion has been postponed for another two years. For this reason the start of constructing the framework for a teaching institute in Chardzhou and national economic and physical culture institutes in Ashkhabad have been threatened with delays.

The situation, as you can see, demands extraordinary measures, the most important of which will be for the republic Council of Ministers to work out a series of programs to develop the material supply base of public education, providing for the destruction of run-down school, vocational training, and preschool facilities and a conversion to institutions using a single-shift system, with a normal compliment of students in classes, provided with tools and equipment, and so on. This program must be based on a sober assessment of current and long-term capacities of the republic building industry.

It should be frankly acknowledged that many problems of public education are directly attributable to the absence of attention required of the party in this vital sector and to the presence of serious negligence on the part of the party committees in the style as in the forms and methods of their operation.

In recent years the Turkmen CP Central Committee has repeatedly reviewed the situation existing in higher and secondary schools. However, the decisions adopted have not served to strengthen organizational efforts and the control necessary. An obvious example of this is the relationship of the Central Committee departments, oblast committees, and many of the city and rayon party committees to the measures taken to implement basic school reforms along the lines laid out by the 28th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee in September 1984. Several serious omissions from the very beginning doomed this most important document to failure and prevented party committees from making a correct selection of the main link, recognizing emerging trends from isolated instances, and forming an integrated system of party leadership in this area.

Furthermore, party committees virtually failed to respond to the disturbing assessments of public education given by the republic party management active in 1986 and at the 10th Congress of the Teachers of Turkmenistan. Today, here and there, self-complacency and indifference continue to reign. For example, a short time ago, while visiting schools in Bakhardenskiy Rayon, we were struck by how callous and hardened we had become in the education of our children. The schools are basically dilapidated. They are unheated in winter. They lack textbooks and teaching aids. The desks and the blackboards are antiquated. And there is no provision for food service. One might suppose that the party rayon first secretary, Comrade Nazarov, would sound the alarm, setting before the economic and party leaders specific tasks and struggling to obtain solutions to these problems from higher-standing bodies. But no—the entire rayon leadership basically goes about its business every day, in the place of management leaders, and does not even detect bottlenecks in their work. Amid such a state of affairs, most of the unresolved questions and critical problems of school reform are removed from rayon committee control, as if they had been successfully resolved. A similar attitude towards public education exists not only in Bakhardenskiy Rayon but is typical of many party committees.

It must be admitted that even the decision to organize two commissions to monitor the implementation of school reforms under the party committees and the oblast, city, and rayon executive committees has proved to be unjustified. Not one of these commissions has so far carried out its coordinating functions.

All of this demands of republic party committees that they seek for new approaches and continually strive to improve the style and methods of managing public education in the light of decisions made by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in February. It is incumbent upon the departments of the Central Committee and the oblast, city, and rayon party committees in the work that lies ahead to increase the participation and responsibility of the primary party organizations of the educational

institutions in bringing about the restructuring of higher and secondary schools and in mobilizing the efforts of teaching staffs and students to improve the quality of instruction and education.

Recently there has been a certain increase in the republic in the amount of attention given to party organization of educational institutions. Collective organs of the party committees more frequently have begun to analyze various aspects of teaching and educational activities. An increased degree of effectiveness is to be seen in reports by communists regarding their fulfillment of service obligations and the requirements of the Party Rules. There has been an increase in the assistance given to lower-ranking party units.

However, there is still no clear-cut system for working with the primary party organizations of the schools, vocational training institutions, and VUZes. There is no differentiated approach to training by party organization secretaries in the educational institutions, and the practical assistance rendered by them is negligible. Hence many secretaries of primary party organizations have only extremely hazy notions of how, let us say, a party organization of teachers may become a vanguard catalyst of reform, and this ultimately has an effect on its capacity to function.

We are aware that the stratum of teachers with the lowest qualifications exerts an influence upon the activities of public education bodies. Even in the future therefore questions of selection for admission to the party and placement in this sector will necessarily be subjects of continuing concern. During the period since the 23d Turkmen CP Conference the increase in the number of communists in the collectives of educational institutions amounts to more than 1,100 people. In addition, 87 primary organizations, 3 professional collectives, and 43 party groups have been established. In determining the program for managing public education today therefore, it is essential to direct the attention of party committees to the requirements of the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that the influence upon the school system should be a product not only of the efforts of the communist teachers themselves but of the party organizations of base and patron enterprises, of parents who are communists, and of the party apparatus.

There are extraordinarily urgent questions yet to be considered regarding the selection, assignment, and training of management personnel in the public education system. Within the party committees a principled and demanding attitude is developing with respect to management personnel, and a systematic effort is under way to purge the organs and institutions of higher and vocational schools of workers who are incompetent, lacking in initiative, or who have compromised themselves, as well as persons inclined to resort to protectionism, bribery, or other negative manifestations. Whereas

2.8 percent of management personnel were replaced in 1984, which, in effect, serves as an indicator of stagnation with respect to personnel, in 1987 this indicator amounted to 9.4 percent.

The replenishment of personnel, however, has not led to an improvement in the management of public education. Unfortunately, even certain of the newly appointed personnel have not been able to renounce entirely their previous mistakes and are not, in fact, vigorously accomplishing the restructuring of the teaching and educational process.

A firm agreement must be reached that the selection and assignment of personnel must be made solely through a careful screening of candidates, on the basis of glasnost and democratization, and depending upon their attitude towards the restructuring process.

We have a choice. More than 60,000 pedagogical workers are at work within the public education system. Many of them are distinguished by high professionalism and moral qualities, a tireless search for new ways to improve, and a sense of dissatisfaction with what has so far been achieved. The names of the most outstanding are widely known in the republic: Khant Bordzhakov, people's teacher of the USSR, director of School No. 1 in Sakarskiy Rayon; Tamara Mikhaylovna Spiridonova, honored teacher, director of School No. 33 in Leninskiy Rayon; Klavdiya Petrovna Ashirkuliyeva, honored teacher of Russian at School No. 20 at Ashkhabadskiy Rayon; Nina Sadulovna Bayramova, bearer of the Order of Lenin, director of Kindergarten No. 36 in the city of Ashkhabad; Mary Ilaman Geldiyev, outstanding teacher of the TuSSR in vocational training and master of production instruction at Specialized Vocational Training School No. 19 in the city of Mary; and many others.

There are, however, unfortunately, cases of people becoming involved in teaching fortuitously. In the past two years alone 157 pedagogical workers have been relieved of duty for lack of proper motivation or have been punished, including 12 communists and 20 individuals who were charged with criminal offenses. The number of public education workers who have been punished has been increasing in Krasnovodsk and Chardzhou oblasts. And in Mary and Tashauz oblasts instances of admitting into educational institutions people who have previously compromised themselves or lack any kind of teaching skills have not been entirely eliminated.

At the center of attention of party organizations at all levels there must be concern for the moral qualities of a teacher as well as his professionalism. The teacher of today must be distinguished by pedagogical mastery, by a striving to outdo himself, by a high level of culture, by a correct comprehension of values to live by and moral ideals, and he must give himself entirely to the teaching of children and young people with love and concern.

Moreover, we should not forget about creating for teachers normal conditions of daily living. In recent years there have been noticeable changes for the better in this respect. Nevertheless, the measures taken have not yet altered the general situation. Today at the soviets of people's deputies there are 3,750 people on the waiting list for apartments, including 152 young specialists, and 345 families of teachers are living in private quarters. This problem is particularly acute in the cities of Ashkhabad and Chardzhou, and in Krasnovodsk and Tashauz oblasts. I consider the record of the Chardzhou gorispolkom to be intolerable in this respect. In 1987 it provided a total of five apartments for more than a hundred institutions of public education, whereas we agreed at the Congress of Teachers to provide two apartments per year for each school. In this respect the Ashkhabad gorispolkom (Comrade Bayramov) deserves commendation for arranging to provide in 1988 almost a hundred apartments for the teaching profession.

It is necessary to pay increased attention to teachers in rural areas. Loans should be made available for individual construction. The teachers should be provided with building materials as well as fuel and other public services. Construction must be further extended by using the assets of the economy.

At the February plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the task was set before the party organizations of actively promoting the democratization of life in the educational institutions. The first steps have been taken in this direction. In an atmosphere of pervasive glasnost and constructive criticism, the plenum heard reports by the rectors of the institutes of physical culture and medicine and of the state university, and it conducted elections of regional directors in Murgab and Dargan-Ata and about 80 educational management workers.

The practice of re-electing the professors and teachers in the VUZes of the republic has been replaced by competitive elections. Student participation in directing the activities of the VUZes is being extended. Student dean's offices have been opened. The opinions of students are being taken into consideration in evaluating the work of the teachers, and up to 25 percent of the students now participate in student councils. These changes are evident. But things must be so arranged that the more cogent ideas of the student body, as put forward by their comrades in recognition of their new role, are actually put into practice.

But as an analysis made on the eve of the plenum has indicated, the process of democratization in the educational institutions is being carried out timidly, without sufficient scope and depth and, in some cases, merely in a formal manner. The opinion is frequently expressed that the senior class members as well as the rest of the student body are simply not sufficiently mature to practice self-government. But with such an approach, of

course, young people will never be ready for it. Self-government can be established and developed only under a particular set of circumstances.

Unfortunately, this view of things is far from being shared by all educational institutions. In the Institute of Agriculture, for example, notwithstanding not only the objective requirements for democratization but also the instructions of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, less than 15 percent of the student body is in the institute council. What does the rector's office and the institute's party committee have to be afraid of?

The Komsomol organizations of the educational institutions, in which more than 36 percent of the Komsomol organizations of the republic are concentrated, must become reliable and faithful supporters of the party committees and the primary party organizations. Party leadership of school and VUZ Komsomols, however, lags far behind the demands of the present day. Party organizations often lose sight of many aspects of this effort. Leadership by the Komsomol for the most part takes the form of no more than listening to reports by Komsomol organization secretaries and then adopting grandiloquent general resolutions.

Thus, for example, at party meetings of the Krasnovodsk Pedagogical School, questions pertaining to the leadership of the Komsomol organization have been examined five times in the last year and a half. And what is the final result? It amounts to nothing, inasmuch as the decisions reached have not been bolstered by any practical help in fulfilling them or by any form of checking up on their execution.

It is necessary for regular meetings to be established between party, soviet, and economic workers and young people. Without them it is impossible to strengthen existing ties between communists and Komsomol members, between management personnel and young students; to know their questions and interests, and to be able to inform teaching and youth groups regarding urgent issues in the life of the party and the state on a regular basis.

The education of the generation that is now growing up is a complex and multi-faceted operation. It is the task of party organizations at all levels, and the task of all communists, to raise the level of political leadership in the education and upbringing of children, to investigate deeply the substance of the work being done by educational institutions, and to deal with the problems that arise in a competent and businesslike way. The restructuring of the entire field of public education must become the vital concern of each member of the Central Committee, each communist, and each worker in the republic.

**Tajik CP CC First Secretary Makhkamov on
Personnel Turnover, Laggardly Reforms**
18300279a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 24 May 88 p 3

[Speech by K. M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, at Tajik CP Central Committee Plenum held on 21 May 1988]

[Text] Comrades! It is no coincidence that this Central Committee Plenum has had submitted for its discussion the account of the Ordzhonikidzeabad Gorkom of the Tajik CP concerning its work to expand further the role of primary party organizations in the implementation of restructuring. The progress of that work and the realization of everything that was outlined at the 27th Party Congress will to a decisive extent depend on the level of work down by the lower party branches, their energy, sense of purpose, adherence to principle and readiness and ability to protect, defend and advance restructuring with actions and not just with words.

Some of our comrades will probably ask why Ordzhonikidzeabad Gorkom in particular was chosen for this purpose. It is a rayon under direct republic jurisdiction, one of our largest, with a population of approximately 180,000. Its party organization is comprised of approximately 3,500 communists and candidate party members. It is the site of quite a few industrial enterprises and has large-scale, multisector agricultural production. A substantial corps of the intelligentsia works there.

All these factors contribute to its very important position in the economic, cultural and sociopolitical life of our republic.

One other thing. You will recall that approximately two years ago the Central Committee Buro pronounced the continued tenure of U. Kh. Khasanov as first secretary of the Ordzhonikidzeabad Party Gorkom impossible. A gorkom plenum relieved him of his position. The grounds for this were the intentional and flagrant violations of Leninist principles of cadre work committed by Khasanov. He demonstrated personal immodesty and ignored standards of collective leadership.

Naturally all this had a negative effect on the moral and psychological atmosphere in the rayon and led to serious deformations in cadre work and to abuses and violations on the part of a number of officials. Such actions outraged the people and undermined their faith in social justice. And, of course, those cadres who received appointments on the basis of their kinship ties or local connections proved incapable of performing the tasks required by restructuring.

The Central Committee Buro is of the opinion that discussion of the gorkom's account concerning its work to expand the role and raise the level of responsibility of primary party organizations will prove very instructive for all of our republic's party committees.

We are presently at an especially difficult and responsible stage, the essence of which is expressed in this quote from Lenin:

"Now practical action is everything...., we have arrived at precisely that historical moment where theory is transformed into practice, is corrected by practice, is tested in practice, where Marx's statement that 'every step of practical progress is more important than a dozen programs' is especially true."

These words are from the article "How Should Competition Be Organized?," published at the end of 1917, a very difficult period in the formation of the Soviet State; today as well we are living at a critical time. Lenin's theses seem particularly timely now.

Only a little more than one month remains before the 19th Party Conference. It will develop the political, ideological and organizational preconditions that will guarantee the irrevocability of restructuring and democratization processes and will make a decisive contribution toward ensuring that those processes continue to develop and deepen. And, of course, there will be discussion of the practical results of the party's restructuring efforts.

That is the task which we must set ourselves as well. It should be the task of each party committee and each party organization also. The goal will be to correlate our work constantly, every day, with the practical tasks of restructuring. That work should be evaluated not on the basis of the amount of paper produced, meetings held or according to other formal, bureaucratic attributes, but rather on the basis of the results that are visible to each individual: new housing, social, cultural and consumer-related facilities and increased production of consumer goods, in particular food products, and they should be good products of good quality.

Our task is to ensure that democratic processes extend to all areas of our lives, that legality and the principles of social justice are observed unfailingly and that the struggle against the negative phenomena which have of late quite frankly assumed serious proportions be conducted more actively, uncompromisingly and in a principled manner.

What does discussion of the Ordzhonikidzeabad Party Gorkom's account reveal in this respect? One can conclude that in that rayon restructuring has become a real concern for many primary party organizations. They are having an increasing influence on the situation in collectives, their reaction to various negative phenomena—poor management, or violation of standards for party life—is becoming more severe, and they are making greater demands of communists, especially administrators. Democratic principles, glasnost and new forms of labor and production organization are being introduced.

Serious work has been done with the objective of establishing order in cadre policy. There has been some

improvement in economic indices, as well as an increase in people's social activism.

But we must draw one other, principal conclusion from this discussion. And that conclusion is that the results achieved thus far, as we have seen, are too modest to enable us to say yet that restructuring in the rayon in question has yet taken on the necessary scale or depth.

The poor work of many primary party organizations must be regarded as one of the main reasons for this. In some of them there have been no changes whatsoever except for the appearance of stock phrases about restructuring.

The in-depth inspections and analytical work which preceded today's plenum indicate that the gorkom has not placed enough reliance on primary party organizations and often attempts to resolve problems, especially problems of an economic nature, without consulting them. Members of the apparatus who visit collectives still spend most of their time there resolving current economic problems.

We find a command-pressuring style of leadership, usurpation of the authority of economic administrators, and an inability to focus one's efforts on the principal orientations of restructuring, as well as that common affliction of ours: excessive paperwork and superfluous meetings. We are fully justified in stating that this situation is typical of a number of raykoms and gorkoms.

In this connection it should be noted that we very often speak about the fact that many production sectors, especially in the areas of construction and agriculture, do not have primary or shop-level party organizations or party groups. This is a matter worthy of the most serious attention. And something is being done in this direction. The number of party organizations and groups is increasing, although they still do not exist in all places by any means.

But that there should be an increase in their influence, authority within collectives and adherence to principles, that they should truly become the motive force of restructuring—party committees do not always concern themselves with this.

We are simply not developing a system for work in this direction. For example, we very often speak about the need for specific, individualized work with each person. So why do we not frame the question in the same manner when speaking of work with each party organization, especially in collectives, where we can see breakdowns in their work, where an unhealthy moral and political atmosphere exists?

Here we can see an inclination toward the grand scale: all sorts of instructional meetings, seminars for the secretaries of party organizations and, even worse, a fondness for office-bound, telephone-based administrative methods.

However, we can also list many party organizations which party committee instructors, not to mention party workers of higher rank, have not visited for months and even for years. And if they do visit these party organizations, their visits are by no means always followed by tangible changes. And where would such changes come from, with some members of the apparatus staff visiting two, three or even more organizations in a single day?

In this connection I would like to pose the following question: can any of our comrades here today give a real-life example proving that any party organization has been visited by a staff member from the party committee who has gotten involved in the resolution of an important, specific matter and has been of real help with that matter? No such examples have been cited today, nor have they been cited previously. The mass media also seldom run items of this type.

Furthermore, meetings with collectives that we have attended recently indicate that in many cases there exists something like alienation between the staff of the party committee and primary party organizations. The latter greet representatives of the apparatus without particular joy or hope. And that is understandable.

Practical, objective assistance is often secondary to efforts to uncover as many shortcomings as possible, these shortcomings being compared on the basis of written documents; one finds a didactic, imperative tone of conversation and avoidance of the difficult questions which are of concern to collectives.

This was confirmed in the speech given by S. Radzhabov, secretary of the party organization of Motor Vehicle Transport Enterprise #18, city of Parkhar.

The secretaries of many party organizations have complained about this style. And we are disheartened by the fact that as a rule they request that their names not be mentioned. With a mind-set like that it is difficult to be an active fighter. Each party committee should give some thought to why people continue to be afraid to speak boldly and openly.

This presents us with the need to take greater care with the selection of members of the apparatus staff, in particular with regard to their training, upbringing and knowledge of democracy. In this respect a personal example should be set by the members of the bureau and the secretaries of party committees. For in many cases members of the apparatus staff learn from and copy their style, their imperative tone that brooks no dissent. In our party committees one can still see scenes where only the first secretary speaks at bureau meetings, as if no one else existed.

We must also take into account the fact that over the past two-and-one-half years there has been a considerable turnover in our raykoms and gorkoms, a turnover averaging 71 percent. Many young, energetic comrades have

entered party work, primarily upon recommendations from primary party organizations and labor collectives. This is as it should be. Restructuring requires a continual influx of new blood.

However, we should also not lose sight of the fact that in many cases our young comrades do not have the professional skills required for party work. They need serious assistance to help them overcome this lack of skills as quickly as possible.

The elected aktiv—the members of party gorkoms and raykoms and the Central Committee itself—is not being used actively enough in work with primary party organizations. Bear in mind that each member is also a member of a specific party organization, yet often takes little part in the life and work of that organization. Yet as a rule those comrades have greater abilities; they are experienced, respected individuals who are capable of accomplishing a great deal.

It is still the case that very often members of elective party organizations, including the Central Committee, flatly declare that their role is limited to attendance at plenums. Party committees should make better use of these forces.

On the subject of party organizations, we must constantly keep sight of the question of who is in charge of them, i.e. the matter of the personality of the individual who leads a collective of communists. Today demands upon and requirements of this category of party members are greater than they have ever been. They should be not only formal leaders, but genuine leaders, leaders who earn the confidence placed in them by all their actions, and above all by their attitude toward restructuring.

Now, with accounting and elections in party organizations not far off, we need to think long and seriously about this matter.

Today we possess a more than sufficient number of examples confirming the fact that a number of party organizations are headed by comrades who are not successful in their work with people, or else are absolute failures at it.

Since 1985 2,259 secretaries of primary party organizations in our republic (approximately 40 percent of their total number) have been voted out of office during accounting-election periods, as well as for other reasons. Of these, 79 were voted out for negative reasons.

Also falling by the wayside are those who base attitudes toward administrators on the principle of "your wish is my command."

A. Sharipov, full-time secretary of the party committee of Chubek Sovkhoz in Moskovskiy Rayon, has a unique concept of his functions. He is of the opinion that his primary obligation is to hand down directives and

resolve economic matters. Of course, one should concern oneself with economic matters, but this should be done through communists, through work with individuals and with cadres.

There are quite a few examples, particularly in the agroindustrial system, of secretaries of party organizations who get in the habit of giving orders to administrators. And, of course, they do not have the respect of their communists or of their collective. And this cannot fail to have an effect on the level of their party organization's work.

Here is another fact which characterizes our primary party organization secretaries, or which, more precisely, attests to their passivity and inertia. As you will recall, the keynote report given at the 8th Plenum of the Tajik CP Central Committee was published for the purpose of broad discussion. And of the 5,700 responses which we received to that report not one was from the secretary of a party organization. Draw your own conclusions, comrades.

Although there has already been discussion here today of the matter of party meetings, I also feel a need to address this highly important aspect of party affairs. First of all I would like to emphasize that the role of party meetings has increased immeasurably. To a certain extent we have seen a turning toward that which party meetings should be—i.e., a militant, actively functioning organ.

New forms for conducting party meetings have appeared—for instance, conducting of party meetings without an agenda, or joint meetings of several party organizations with the participation of non-party members. The practice of hearing accounts by communists, including leaders, about their participation in restructuring continues to spread, as have other practices. All this should be supported and further developed.

Yet in many other party organizations we see quite a different picture. Trivial matters that have no bearing on the performance of key tasks and have no effect on communists' lives and work are submitted for their discussion.

For example, at School #19 in Ordzhonikidzeabad Rayon a party meeting discussed the question "On the Condition of the Daily Journals of Pupils in Grades 8-10." At Kommunizm Kolkhoz in Tursunzadevskiy Rayon it was deemed necessary to hear an account from the kolkhoz's auditing commission. Perhaps that was correct, but was there no other matter that was of greater significance to the farm's collective, to its communists?

At a majority of production-related party organizations the results of quarterly plan fulfillment are discussed four times annually. This is, of course, necessary. But such discussions are often reduced to mere formalities. All that changes are the dates and figures, with all the rest being carried over from one set of minutes to the next.

And, most importantly, they look like ordinary economic documents. Questions of whether to hold various ceremonial functions and so forth have come to dominate the agenda.

One may ask, is there any time left for discussion of matters that are currently of concern to the party and our entire society, matters that concern every collective, especially in view of the fact that meetings are held on an irregular basis, in violation of provisions in the Party Charter?

And another matter: at meetings some secretaries of primary party organizations have complained that higher-level party organizations, including party raykoms, demand that they submit work plans for a year or even two or three years in advance. We would ask, who needs that, and why?

And it is probably no coincidence that frequently situations arise in which people go in groups or as entire collectives together to complain to central organs concerning the abnormal situation in their collection, infringement on their rights, incorrect resolution of various questions, and abuses. Yet when an investigation is begun it turns out that all this escaped the attention of the party organization, even in those cases where the problem is one of long standing.

Thus, for example, the Central Committee was recently visited by 80 persons from the Samsalyk Sovkhoz in Kom-somolabadskiy Rayon. The reason for their visit was the fact that the residents of two villages had come into conflict over road construction. Yet P. Khaknazarov, sovkhoz party committee secretary and incidentally a resident of one of the villages, pretending that nothing was the matter. The same attitude was taken by the party raykom.

Examine a majority of cases involving padding of accounts, embezzlement and poor management and you will see that they were not uncovered at the initiative of party organizations. What is worse, in some of those cases is manifested an extremely liberal, permissive attitude toward communists who have committed serious wrongdoing for personal profit or are guilty of flagrant abuses.

Thus, over a two-year period our raykoms and gorkoms have repealed over 600 decisions on personal cases involving communists as being too liberal. There has been an especially large number of violations in Moskovskiy Rayon. There over the past two years 80 percent of all decisions pertaining to communists convicted of criminally punishable acts were deemed too liberal.

We find similar instances in Leninskiy, Dzhirgatal'skiy, Fayzabadskiy and Gissarskiy rayons and in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast. And yet, comrades, in our efforts to raise the standards required of communists we must not resort to superficial approaches, quick palliatives or poorly

planned decisions. The Central Committee's Party Control Commission is aware that these things are happening. For this reason it is once again becoming necessary to repeal decisions made by raykoms, gorkoms and even obkoms and restore people to party membership.

Our republic party organization long ago set a course toward ensuring that every communist administrator who is found guilty of violations and errors gives an account of himself before the communists of the party organization of which he is a member. This will foster greater discipline and greater responsibility on the part of our cadres.

There is also another side to this. In some party organizations this right is used to protect violators from responsibility and avoid evaluations on principle. Even worse, we find instances of party punishment being regarded as sufficient, obviating the need for criminal proceedings. The reasoning is that the individual in question has already been punished and that that should be enough.

Once again I reiterate that this occurs particularly often when the individual in question is an administrator. We must free ourselves of this vestige of the period of stagnation as quickly as possible.

We must also bring up one other aspect of the work of primary party organizations. Today it is clear to every one of us that the greatest and most dangerous foe of restructuring and economic revitalization is bureaucracy. But the struggle against this phenomenon is being conducted in a vague manner, producing more words than actions.

During the first four months of this year Central Committee secretaries had personal interviews with 159 persons. On the basis of those interviews we can find more than a few examples of how the simplest matter, one which could be resolved in a matter of minutes, suddenly begins to grow paper "armor," drowns in endless negotiations and is shuttled back and forth from office to office.

This applies to matters both of a production-related and a personal nature which people encounter. The reason behind these things is often a bureaucrat, an indifferent functionary who is unwilling to accept any responsibility. And this is what alarms us: we do not have record of any party organization saying directly and forthrightly to such a communist: "you are a bureaucrat; you are not the sort of person we need."

On this point we must clearly explain to everyone that until the struggle against bureaucratism begins to be conducted by primary party organizations we will not achieve the requisite results in that struggle.

I feel it necessary to mention another aspect, a new aspect, of the work of primary party organizations, particularly

rural ones. I refer to their participation in the broad dissemination and introduction into practice of contractual principles and lease contracts. At a CPSU Central Committee meeting on 13 May M. S. Gorbachev specially underscored the fact that this is the shortest path to sharply accelerated realization of the Food Program.

The materials of that meeting will convince anyone of the tremendous opportunities that are opening up in this regard. Unfortunately, in our republic this new form of labor organization is still not fully appreciated, is being disseminated too slowly and indecisively, and sometimes we even see a situation in which farms which have made the transition to family and lease contracts find themselves forced to abandon that method. The result is that currently only approximately 8,000 persons are working under a lease contract in our republic's agricultural sector.

Basically, this matter is being allowed to drift. One does not sense real interest, acts of guidance or assistance on the part of party committees and primary party organizations.

For example, while making preparations for this plenum we were unable to receive from raykoms precise information on how many party members in our republic are working under family or lease contracts. But we must bear in mind that contracts are the future, and even now we need to begin ensuring that the lessees do not remain outside party influence.

I feel that it would be useful for party organizations to undertake mass informational work designed to ensure that knowledgeable specialists, including party members, set an example of active participation in this area. This is especially important now that a major reduction in the size of the administrative apparatus is pending.

Ideological work is a bottleneck in the work of many primary party organizations. I could cite many examples of them losing sight of a number of important matters altogether. In our opinion, the causes of this lie with party committees and their propaganda and agitation departments.

In this area we are very slow in overcoming the old approaches: emphasis on mass events, so-called "coverage," a campaign-oriented approach, over-organization and, most importantly, lack of contact with party organizations and labor collectives. Without going into details, I would like to note the following situation. It will soon be two years that we have been working to realize the Comprehensive Program of Internationalist and Atheistic Education in our republic for the 1987-1990 period in light of the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 20th Tajik CP Congress.

That document defines the most pressing orientations in our ideological work. Approximately one month ago progress toward realization of this program was considered by the Central Committee Buro. It became clear

that it is being realized in an unsatisfactory manner. Primary party organizations—the key branches—have been utilized very poorly in this regard.

During meetings with collectives and talks with the secretaries of party organizations it became clear that many of them have only the vaguest notion of this program, or else have forgotten it altogether. That means that the matter did not get any farther than raykoms and gorkoms. One can scarcely expect the matter to proceed successfully if this gap is not eliminated.

What I have said applies not only to this program. Quite a long time has passed since the February CPSU CC Plenum and our own 9th Plenum. Yet what changes have there been in the operations of party organizations at schools, secondary specialized educational institutions, VUZs and vocational and technical schools?

After a certain flurry of activity quiet and tranquility prevail again. Party committees have also grown cooler toward educational restructuring.

One other thing. Party committees should devote much more attention to the work of primary party organizations among women, particularly in rural and mountainous rayons. Public opinion polls and sociological research conducted recently in a number of rayons indicate that women, even those employed in agricultural production, attempt to avoid participation in various meetings and rallies, do not visit cultural and educational institutions and are virtually completely cut off from social life. Yet many of them have husbands and parents who are communists.

Too few women are being promoted to managerial positions. For example, in the agroindustrial complex as much as 70 percent of the work force is comprised of women. Yet women are a rarity at the managerial level, even in positions such as brigade leader or small farm chief, not to mention higher-level positions.

For example, in Leninabad Oblast only 4.3 percent of all brigade leaders are women. Of a total of 222 specialized farms employing primarily women only three are headed by women. The situation is no better in Kulyab Oblast or the group of rayons around Garm.

We are continuing to see, and not that infrequently, instances of flagrant infringement on women's rights and assaults on their human dignity. Protests against this tyranny sometimes take terrible, tragic forms, up to and including self-immolation. Yet these cases do not always prompt sufficient concern on the part of party organizations. Sometimes they only begin looking into these cases after they receive a call from higher up.

The question of work with women has evidently been given scant attention by party raykoms and gorkoms. Sometimes it is not discussed for years at a time, and if it is discussed,

then most often in connection with some extreme circumstances. This approach has also carried over into the attitudes taken on this matter by primary party organizations. It is also the cause of the unsatisfactory and in many cases formalistic work of women's councils.

The press, radio and television play a special role in the ideological preparations for restructuring. This was the subject of discussion at the February Central Committee Plenum, and M. S. Gorbachev addressed this matter again at a meeting with the heads of the mass media, ideological institutions and creative unions held at the CPSU Central Committee on 7 May of this year.

Our newspapers, radio and television have done and are continuing to do much to tap the creative energy of the masses and expose the factors which hamper restructuring; they are striving to function in the spirit of our revolutionary times. But they do not always succeed in doing so.

Democratization processes and economic transformations are giving rise to quite a few new phenomena and situations that require swift reactions, creative boldness and initiative. These are what the mass media often lack. In a number of cases they take a wait-and-see attitude, relying on instructions from higher up or, in other words, demonstrating that familiar passivity.

On the other hand, they obviously lack the ability to portray and reveal all the depth and complexity of the tasks being performed by the party and the people. This is especially evident in their coverage of the work done by primary party organizations.

We pay careful attention to the things that are published or broadcast and, quite frankly, we seldom see articles or features which illuminate in depth the work of primary party organizations to bring about restructuring. Most of them are characterized by the dryness and hackneyed tone of their presentation, and by the fact that they do not go beyond the surface. This also applies to articles on economic topics.

We are still seeing a fondness for sensational stories, as well as incorrect, superficial interpretation of facts and events. It is even worse, when the actual state of affairs is distorted, as was the case in the article "...But Obligated To Be a Citizen," published in the newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, for which that paper was justly criticized by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA. Weak, improbable stories are most often found in rayon newspapers.

Sometimes newspaper space and airtime are used in an uneconomical manner to present trivial stories and broadcasts. There are abundant examples of this. All this confronts us with the urgent necessity of raising the level of our leadership in the mass information media to ensure that they are transformed into a keen and effective weapon of restructuring.

And in conclusion just a few words about our current affairs and urgent tasks.

Throughout the republic we have observed a tendency toward improvement in qualitative indices and efficiency of production. During the first quarter of this year national income increased by 6.2 percent, as compared to an annual plan goal of 4.3 percent; public labor productivity increased by 4.4 percent. For the first time the latter factor was responsible for 73 percent of the increase in national income. The volume of capital investment earmarked for reconstruction and technical refitting increased, mainly out of funds from enterprises and organizations.

The results of the first four months of this year attest to the increasing strength of the positive changes which have been achieved in the economy. Volume of industrial production as compared to the same period last year increased by 7.5 percent, and consumer goods production is up 7.6 percent. Workers in the fields of transportation, communications and trade have overfulfilled their four-month plan goals.

However, we are seriously concerned by the situation in other sectors: capital construction, the agroindustrial complex and consumer services.

During the same period there was an 86 million ruble shortfall in utilization of state capital investment funds. An extremely unsatisfactory situation exists with regard to the construction of housing, schools, hospitals and preschool facilities. The plan goal for provision of paid services was met by only 94 percent, with the plan for consumer services being realized by 96 percent.

The situation with regard to compliance with contractual stipulations regarding the delivery of industrial goods is not universally favorable. According to figures for the first four months of this year, one enterprise in five has not performed well on this index. There continue to be many collectives in this category within our republic Ministry of Light Industry and Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry systems.

In the agroindustrial complex, despite a more or less favorable situation with regard to plans for the shipment and production of meat and milk, production growth rates are not keeping pace with population growth.

In that sector there are also other matters which are being resolved in an extremely unsatisfactory manner. For two years we have been requesting that proper attention be devoted to expansion of the production and sales of vegetables, fruit and livestock feed and the quality of those products improved. This year there was a substantial reduction in the amount of cropland sown in cotton. Remaining in cotton will be a total of 313,000 hectares, roughly 11,000 hectares less than last year.

This is quite enough to meet plan goals and make up for last year's shortfall. The land thus made available was intended for the production of livestock fodder, vegetables and cucurbits.

This plan was not followed. Approximately 2,500 hectares above plan have been sown in cotton. In this respect we can understand the motivations of Leninabad and Kulyab oblasts, which had a shortfall last year. But why did Kurgan-Tyube Oblast sow an unnecessary 700 hectares? For what purpose was this done? This is the equivalent of thousands of tons of vegetables or fodder.

At the same time Gosagroprom's supply of vegetables, potatoes and greens to the public continues to worsen. And the aforementioned is the main reason for that.

This attitude leads to extremely slow growth in the production and sales of fodder, vegetables and cucurbits. People have rightfully complained to the Central Committee about unprecedentedly high market prices. This problem is exacerbated by the slowness and inertia of consumer cooperatives. Last Saturday and Sunday prices on vegetables, cucumbers in particular, at their stands were almost 50 percent higher than those of private producers. What was the reason for that? Do they not understand that those goods will not sell, that they will spoil and be ruined? Can we continue to do business like that these days?

But here a second question may arise: is it perhaps advantageous to trade workers and members of consumer cooperatives to let goods spoil? So that they can write them off? Let 100 kilograms spoil, then under this guise write off 10 tons?

Comrades, as you are aware, as of the beginning of next year all enterprises and organizations in production sectors must operate under conditions of full cost-accounting and self-financing. However, one organization or enterprise in five is unprofitable, and the sum of their losses in 1987 was over 109 million rubles.

Under Gosagroprom alone the number of unprofitable enterprises has risen to 214, or 26 percent of the total number of Gosagroprom enterprises; their losses totalled 77 million rubles.

Of course, the conditions prevailing last year also had a part in this. But when we have made the transition to cost-accounting and self-financing no weather conditions or other conditions will be taken into consideration.

All this is the result of the fact that there are still many economic administrators who have still not fully realized that under the new conditions expanded initiative and enterprise will be accompanied by sharply increased responsibility. The problem is that some administrators have made the old stereotypes such an integral part of their style of

administration and thinking. Therefore party and soviet organs need to look more closely at each enterprise or organization, especially with regard to cadres.

The work of primary party organizations, trade unions and the Komsomol should be focused in these directions.

I would like to talk about one other important matter: improvement of the organizational structure of management of our republic's economy. As you are aware, a new General Diagram has been discussed and approved by a special session of our republic Supreme Soviet.

Bespeaking the scale and complexity of this measure is the fact that in the near future it will be necessary to abolish 11 ministries and departments, and those that remain will undergo substantial changes in the functions and structure of their central apparatuses; subsequent corrections will be made as needed.

Restructuring also affects the oblast level of administration. A number of functions will be unified at the city and rayon level in connection with the dissolution of certain oblast-level organs. There will be a significant change in the role of RAPOs, which should be transformed from administrative organs into outright production formations.

Today our task is to ensure that everything outlined in the General Administrative Diagram is realized without delay. It is essential that we complete formulation of sector-level administrative diagrams and the formation of a new apparatus structure for ministries and departments as quickly as possible.

It should be borne in mind that in our republic with its labor surplus it will involve considerable difficulty to find employment for those persons fired from their jobs in connection with the staff cutback.

It is essential that party committees conduct explanatory work among collectives, paying particular attention to the questions of staff reduction, job placement of unemployed persons and unwavering observance of the principles of social justice and glasnost in that work.

At the same time the goal of supplying administrative organs and production subdepartments with highly skilled cadres in positions matching their specialization should be achieved.

In conjunction with this it is essential that work be conducted to retrain some specialists in accordance with the need for their specialization. An individualized approach should be taken in this work.

Again, particular responsibility rests upon primary party organizations. They are closer to real, specific individuals.

Comrades! We are on the verge of a highly important event in the life of the party and the people: the All-Union Party Conference. It is our duty to greet it in a fitting manner. A little over one month remains until the end of the first half of this year. There is still enough time to rectify the situation in our economic affairs. The days from now until the conference should be days of high-efficiency shock work both in economic and political affairs, and in primary party organizations. (Applause)

12825

Text of TaSSR Law on Public Participation in Government

18300315 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA
in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 3

[Text of TaSSR Law: "Law on Public Discussion of Important Issues of State Life"]

[Text] Further deepening of socialist democracy and development of people's self-government presuppose a broadening, for each citizen of the Tajik SSR, of the real possibilities of exercising the constitutional right to participate in management of state and public affairs, in discussion of drafts of laws and decisions of the USSR, republic, and local significance, and in discussion of major issues of public life put forward by public organizations in conformity with their statutory tasks.

The present Law is expected to promote the development of citizen participation in working out decisions on important issues of state and public life on the basis of broad glasnost and comparison and consideration of the different opinions and suggestions of working people.

I. General Principles

Article 1. Public Discussion of Important Issues of State Life of the Tajik SSR.

In conformity with the TaSSR Constitution drafts of laws and other important issues of the state life of the republic may be submitted for public discussion.

Draft laws and other important issues are submitted for public discussion by the TaSSR Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 2. Public Discussion of Important Local Issues

Decisions of important local issues that touch the interests of the population living in the corresponding territory are made by the TaSSR soviets of peoples deputies and their executive committees after preliminary discussion of these issues by the public.

Local issues are submitted for public discussion by oblast soviets of peoples deputies, the Soviet of Peoples Deputies of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, and rayon, city, urban rayon, settlement, and village soviets of peoples deputies or their executive committees.

Article 3. Legislation of the TaSSR on Discussion of Important Issues of State Life

The procedure for public discussion of important issues of the state life of the TaSSR and public discussion of important local issues is defined by the present Law on the basis of the USSR Law "On All-People's Discussion of Important Issues of State Life" and other laws of the Tajik SSR.

Article 4. Participation by Citizens of the TaSSR in the Discussion

Citizens of the TaSSR are guaranteed free participation in discussion of important issues of state and public life.

Citizens of the TaSSR have the right to participate directly in discussion of republic and local issues, as well as through public organizations, labor collectives, general meetings of citizens at the place of residence, voluntary action public organs, meetings of military servicemen by military unit, and through the mass information media.

Any direct or indirect infringement of the rights of TaSSR citizens to participate in the discussion because of origin, social status, material status, race or nationality, sex, education, attitude toward religion, time of residence in the particular locality, and type and nature of employment is prohibited.

Article 5. Participation of Public Organizations and Labor Collectives in Preparing for and Conducting the Discussion

Organizations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trade unions, and the All-Union Leninist Komsomol, cooperative, women's, war and labor veterans', and other public organizations, and labor collectives participate in preparing for and conducting the discussion of important issues of state and public life.

Article 6. Supporting Conduct of the Discussion

The TaSSR soviets of peoples deputies support the conduct of the discussion of important republic and local issues.

Article 7. Glasnost during Conduct of the Discussion

The discussion is conducted on the basis of broad glasnost. The draft laws and other important issues of the state life of the republic are published in the press, broadcast by television and radio, and brought to public attention by other means.

The mass information media cover the course of the discussion comprehensively, publish suggestions and comments by citizens, state organs, public organizations, and labor collectives, run summaries of the suggestions and remarks received, and provide information on the results of the discussion.

Article 8. Expenditures Related to the Discussion

The expenditures related to discussion of draft laws and other important issues of the state life of the republic and with public discussion of drafts of decisions by local TaSSR soviets of peoples deputies and their executive committees are covered by the state.

Article 9. Accountability for Violation of the Law on Discussion

Officials of state and public organs who permit violations of the present Law and persons who obstruct a Soviet citizen in free exercise of his right to participate in the discussion bear the accountability established by law.

II. The Public Discussion Procedure

Article 10. Issues Submitted for Public Discussion

The issues submitted for public discussion are draft laws and decisions that concern the main directions of political, economic, and social development of the republic, including major scientific-technical and ecological problems whose solution requires using significant public resources, exercise of the constitutional rights, liberties, and duties of Soviet citizens, and other important issues of state life that are assigned to the jurisdiction of the TaSSR.

Article 11. Procedure for Submitting Issues for Public Discussion

Drafts of laws and other issues are submitted for public discussion by decision of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium, reached on their initiative or at the suggestion of an oblast soviet of peoples deputies, the Soviet of Peoples Deputies of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, and rayon and city (cities of republic subordination) soviets of peoples deputies. Recommendations on the wisdom of submitting a draft law or other issue for public discussion can be made by standing commissions of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet and TaSSR Council of Ministers, the republic organs of public organizations, and other organs and persons who are submitting a draft law or other issue to the TaSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium under the law.

Draft laws and material on other issues are published in the newspapers TODZHIKISTONI SOVETS, KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, SOVET TOZHIKISTONI, and other republic newspapers, and in the local press where necessary, no later than 10 days after

adoption of the decision to submit them for public discussion. They can also be published in specialized periodical publications or by other means.

At the same time as they submit an issue for public discussion the TaSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium establish the time and procedures for organizing work to review the suggestions and remarks received during the public discussion and assign this work to appropriate standing commissions of the TsSSR Supreme Soviet or set up a special commission for the stated purpose.

Article 12. Organization of the Discussion of Draft Laws and Other Issues

Republic and local soviets and other state organs and the heads of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, together with public organizations, ensure broad discussion of draft laws and other issues and create the necessary conditions for this.

Citizens can send suggestions and remarks on draft laws and other issues submitted for public discussion directly to the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet, the executive committee of the local TaSSR soviet of peoples deputies, or other state and public organs.

Draft laws and other issues submitted for public discussion can be discussed at sessions of soviets, meetings of their organs and deputy groups, at meetings of public organizations and labor collectives, and at general meetings of citizens at the place of residence, by the organs of public volunteer activity organizations, at meetings of military servicemen by military unit, and in the press, on television, and on radio.

Article 13. Summarization of Suggestions and Remarks

Suggestions and remarks received in the course of a public discussion are summarized by the executive committees of local soviets of peoples deputies, other state and public organs, and the mass information media as appropriate.

These organs can establish commissions and working groups to summarize suggestions and remarks received. The summary of suggestions and remarks is sent to the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 14. Summarizing the Results of Public Discussioned

The suggestions and remarks received at the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet from citizens, labor collectives, and state and public organs concerning a draft law or other issue are reviewed and considered in final polishing of the draft by the corresponding standing commissions of the TsSSR Supreme Soviet, special commission, or the organ that submitted the issue to the TaSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium. For preliminary review of the suggestions and remarks they may

form preparatory commissions and working groups which include peoples deputies, appropriate specialists and scientific and cultural figures, and representatives of state and public organs and scientific institutions.

The mass information media regularly provide the public with information on the suggestions and remarks received and progress in reviewing them and organize steps to clarify the points of the draft or other issue submitted for public discussion.

The results of public discussion of the draft or other issue are reviewed by the TaSSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium as appropriate, and the public is informed of this review.

Suggestions and remarks that do not relate to the subject of the draft law or other issue under discussion are sent to the appropriate state and public organs, which review them by established procedures.

III. Public Discussion of Important Local Issues

Article 15. Issues Submitted for Public Discussion

The issues submitted for public discussion are draft decisions of local TaSSR soviets of peoples deputies and their executive committees concerning plans for comprehensive economic and social development, the budget, upholding socialist legality, protection of legal order and citizens' rights, the work of enterprises, institutions, and organizations related to serving the public, and other important issues of state, economic, and sociocultural development in the local areas.

The decisions of local soviets on issues of housing construction, the development of public health, public education, cultural services, transportation, trade, public catering, and personal services, and adoption of voters' instructions for execution are usually preceded by public discussion of the issues.

Article 16. Procedure for Submitting Issues for Public Discussion

Drafts of decisions by local TaSSR soviets of peoples deputies and their executive committees and other important issues are submitted for public discussion by the local soviet or its executive committee on their initiative and also at the suggestion of standing commissions of the soviet, deputy groups, deputies, organs of public organizations, labor collectives, and general meetings of citizens at the place of residence, block, village, and building committees, and other organs and organizations envisioned by TaSSR law.

Drafts of decisions of local soviets and their executive committees and material on other issues submitted for discussion are published in the local press or brought to public attention over local radio or by other means no later than 10 days after the decision is made to submit them for discussion.

At the same time as it submits an issue for public discussion the local soviet of peoples deputies or its executive committee establishes the time and procedure for organizing work to review the suggestions and remarks received during the discussion, and offers the performance of this work to the appropriate standing commissions of the local soviet or sets up a special commission for the stated purpose.

Article 17. Organization of the Discussion of Drafts of Decisions and Other Issues

The local soviet and other state organs and heads of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, together with public organizations, ensure broad discussion of the drafts of decisions of oblast soviets of peoples deputies, the Soviet of Peoples Deputies of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, rayon, city, urban rayon, settlement, and village soviets of peoples deputies and their executive committees and of other issues submitted for public discussion, and they create the necessary conditions for this.

Citizens can send suggestions and remarks on the drafts of decisions and other local issues to the appropriate soviet, its executive committee, or other state and public organs.

The drafts of decisions and other issues submitted for public discussion may be reviewed in advance at sessions of lower-ranking soviets, meetings of their executive and administrative organs, standing commissions of deputy bodies, at meetings of public organizations, labor collectives, general meetings of citizens at the place of residence, by organs of voluntary public activity, meetings of military servicemen by military unit, and they may be discussed in the local press.

Article 18. Summarization and Review of Suggestions and Remarks

The suggestions and remarks received during the discussion are summarized by the appropriate executive committees of lower-ranking soviets of peoples deputies, other state and public organs, and the mass information media. These organs can form commissions and working groups to summarize the incoming suggestions and remarks. The suggestions and remarks in summarized form are sent to the executive committee of the appropriate soviet.

The suggestions and remarks received by the executive committee of the soviet of peoples deputies are reviewed and considered during final polishing of the draft decision by standing commissions of the soviet or by a special commission formed for this purpose; they are also taken into account in practical activities.

The local press and radio provide the public with regular information on the suggestions and remarks being received during the discussion and arrange for clarification of the points of the draft decisions and other issues submitted for discussion.

The suggestions and remarks whose content relates to the jurisdiction of higher-ranking state organs are sent to them for review.

Suggestions and remarks that do not relate to the subject of the draft decision or other issue under discussion are reviewed by the executive committee of the soviet of peoples deputies and sent to the appropriate state and public organs.

The state and public organs who have received such suggestions and remarks review them in the established procedure and inform the executive committee of the soviet of the results of this review.

Article 19. Informing the Public of the Results of Discussion of Drafts of Decisions and Other Issues

The results of the discussion of drafts of decisions and other issues subject to review by the soviet of peoples deputies are reported by the executive committee, appropriate standing commissions, or other commission at a session of the soviet and brought to public attention.

The results of the discussion of drafts of decisions and other issues subject to review by the executive committee of the soviet are reported at a session of the executive committee and brought to public attention.

Chairman of the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet A. Pallayev Secretary of the Presidium of the TaSSR Supreme Soviet A. Kasymova

9 June 1988, Dushanbe

11176

Kolbin Addresses Kazakh Komsomol Plenum on Internationalism

18300366a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[KazTAG report entitled: "Educating True Internationalists and Patriots"]

[Text] The plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol that was held on 18 June discussed the question of the activities of the republic's Komsomol organizations in fulfilling the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Work of the Kazakh Republic's Party Organization in Providing the International and Patriotic Education of the Workers."

The speaker, S. S. Kondybayev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol, and those who made statements concerning his speech, mentioned the need to educate in young men and women a sense of socialist international and Soviet patriotism, and of high responsibility for the assigned job.

The Komsomol committees have been called upon to improve the organizational and mass political work considerably, and to assure that the meaning and importance of the tasks posed by the party are made known to every young person. Much will have to be done to develop in the young men and women a Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, an intolerance of bourgeois ideology, and an active vital position.

G. V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, spoke at the plenum. He said: It is jokingly said that youth is the only shortcoming that invariably goes away with the passing years. But I have never met, and I probably will never meet, a person who, at a mature age, would not want to throw off the burden of years that he has lived and thus return to his young years. And so today I have to sense precisely that feeling of good-hearted envy toward you, whose youth has coincided with this difficult, but unusually interesting and very promising period in the life of the republic and the country. This is the time of perestroika, the time of our revolutionary renovation.

And I would also like to note a particular detail which is of no small importance and which is immediately apparent, a detail that sharply differentiates those present in this auditorium today from those whom I had occasion to meet a year or a year and a half ago. I have in mind not an outward difference, because I see the very same pleasant, handsome, completely youthful faces. But in the statements, evaluations, and the very way in which the speakers expressed their ideas, there has appeared something qualitatively new, that makes it possible with full justification to mention an increased sense of civic responsibility and the fact that the plenum participants, and consequently the majority of the young men and women in the republic, have acquired features of true social maturity and responsibility.

This is truly gratifying and it convinces us that the previous infantilism and indifference to public affairs, and—we may as well admit—even the certain disappointment in our common ideals to which a certain number of our young people have been subjected have been yielding way to a spirituality, an upsurge in political philosophy, and the striving to participate actively in the job of ridding life of ugly phenomena that are alien to socialism. Consequently, the republic's party organization and the working class and peasantry of Kazakhstan have been acquiring, among young people, a larger and larger number of companions in arms, of persons sharing the same views, with a deep self-interest in accelerating the changes that have begun.

I have already mentioned this during my meeting last year, but I would to repeat once again: never, not for a single moment, have there been any doubts concerning the truly patriotic and international qualities of our young people. The mistakes that were made by individual young men and women during the period of the December events in Alma-Ata should be viewed as an anomalous situation that was the result of the fact that, at a definite stage, the republic's party organization has allowed to go unobserved the important work of providing the communist education for the upcoming generation and there had been a weakening of the party guidance of the Kazakh Komsomol organization.

But in the republic as a whole there are industrious, honest, morally pure and selfless young people who have repeatedly proven by their actions their high moral qualities. Certainly, convincing proof of this is provided by the truly heroic work that was performed by young combine and tractor operators and young workers at threshing floors and elevators during last year's very difficult harvest period, which it was necessary literally to save the grain from the natural forces that had gone on a rampage. Although many of these warriors on the labor front were far from their adulthood, they put their shoulders under the heavy load of common concerns alongside of the adults. And certainly proof of what has been said is the military exploit of our countrymen, the internationalist fighting men who fulfilled their duty with distinction in fraternal Afghanistan. One can only be proud of young people like this and firmly believe in them: people like this will not let you down. With people like this, as the expression goes, you can go out on a reconnaissance patrol.

I think that it is completely necessary to interpret more completely the existing rich experience in the education and class toughening of young people in order to assure that there will continue to be no mistakes made in developing worthy replacements who are completely true to the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the party and the Soviet nation.

As you know, these and many other questions linked with the patriotic and international education of the workers were discussed at the recent plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. But today's frank discussion undoubtedly will also make it possible to understand more deeply the problems pertaining to national relations and relations among nationalities, and to be reconvinced of the immutable truth that any distortions in those relations are the consequence of a lowering of the level of the educational process, the arising of an ideological-moral vacuum in people's souls.

Incidentally, the word "vacuum" is not a completely accurate term. Nature, including man's spiritual world, cannot tolerate emptiness. And if a shortage of internationalistic ideas and convictions arises, that shortage is inevitably replaced by convictions that are diametrically opposed ones—by nationalism and chauvinism.

There is something else that we should not forget. As long as nations exist, there will never come that moment when one can make a sigh of relief and say, "All the problems among nationalities have finally been resolved, and now we can dot all the i's on them." Yes, the national question in the form in which it came down to us from the previous world has been resolved. And we can rightfully be proud of the achievement of the actual equality of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the single socialist Motherland. But every period of time has its problems, its own tasks that one must be able to see and to analyze, and, most importantly, to resolve without waiting for them to accumulate.

Everyone is well aware of what results from the criminally indifferent idea that there are no problems in this, the most refined and most sensitive sphere of human interrelationships. The year's experience in the tense struggle to implement the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Work of the Kazakh Republic Party Organization in Providing the International and Patriotic Education of the Workers," convinces one of the need to occupy constantly an active position in those questions, and to choose an aggressive, preemptive strategy and tactics to assure the conscious direction of the educational processes, rather than trailing along behind events.

That is why the Kazakh CP Central Committee today pays close attention to the creation of an integrated, genuinely democratic, completely open system of administering national relations and relations among nationalities, in the structure of which one of the most important, or one can even say one of the key, sectors belongs to the Komsomol organizations.

Because the foundation of a person's political philosophy, his moral underpinning, are formed in youth, when he is most perceptive to any suggestion, when, like a sponge, he absorbs the ideas that largely determine the essence and meaning of his entire life. Consequently it is the Komsomol leaders who will determine whether a person will or will not be a patriot and internationalist.

It may seem to some people that this question has been posed in too rigid a form. But please permit me to ask: aren't you yourself tired of the compromises that have lasted for years? Aren't you being gnawed at by the worm of doubt concerning the correctness of the Komsomol work with young people, if, for example, every person who signs a report concerning people's passing the GTO standards is fully aware that many of the persons who have received the prestigious badge will never be able even once to pull himself up onto the horizontal bar? Or if a young man who is entering the army is given a Komsomol card on the very day he is inducted, on a crash basis, for the sake of getting "checked off" properly? Or if, from year to year, there is an increase in the number of inductees with a poor knowledge of the Russian language? Or if there has been a sharp reduction in the number of

young men and women of Kazakh nationality who are attempting to master a working occupation?

Questions such as this can be asked until infinity. And it is only at first glance that all of them seem to exist on different levels, that seem to be unrelated either to each other or to the topic of today's discussion. Actually, however, any of the situations that were mentioned can serve as an illustration of what kind of patriots and what kind of internationalists we are educating.

Once again we can hear the customary objections: why indiscriminately blacken our youth, because we have more young men and women who are real people, who are devoted to the Komsomol? Definitely, we have immeasurably more of them. But who has given the right, and to whom has that right be given, to evaluate educational work only from the point of view of quantitative criteria? Why is it that situations that are not included within the confines of a favorable report are blithely put into the category of atypical ones and consigned to oblivion, as though they do not exist at all?

Apparently the chief reason is that the process of educating patriotism and internationalism proceeded in the republic basically on the level of things carried out ritualistically, for purposes of show. Over a period of many years people became convinced that patriotism is only the love of one's own great Motherland, but they somehow forgot those small springs that feed that love and without which that love becomes an abstract concept. The same global scope has spread to the work of providing international education, when the problems among nationalities evoked interest only on the level of relations between nations and never any lesser ones. In any case, that work never went so far as analyzing the joint life of specific people of different nationalities in the labor collective, in the classroom, in the student auditorium, or in the courtyard of an apartment building...

Today we must decisively reject the previous approaches that have discredited themselves. It is necessary, if one can express it this way, to change the scale, to put aside the "telescope" and arm oneself with the "microscope," so that we can see in the tiniest details the essence of the problems that are arising. It is necessary to recognize them at the very moment of their inception, rather than allowing the malignant cells to build up strength and develop into a dangerous cancer.

Once again we are talking about forecasting, about preventive work in the sphere of relations among nationalities. And here is something interesting: as soon as people began to engage seriously in this matter in the republic and as soon as they began to seek the problems, without waiting for life to bring those problems to them, so to speak, "on a platter," they immediately encountered situations that largely contradict the customary dogmas and stereotypical ideas.

Take, for example, the article in the USSR Constitution that guarantees the right of citizens to get an education. What kind of contradictions could there be here, one

might ask? Practically from kindergarten days, everyone remembers the line in the famous song—"there is a road open everywhere for young people." In a word, the right exists, so enjoy it to the measure of your capabilities and talent. It's just that facts are an obstinate thing, and analysis shows that it is by no means to an equal degree that representatives of the various nations and nationalities that inhabit our republic realize this opportunity provided to them.

For example, for every thousand Germans and Uighurs living in the republic, half as many have higher education as the Kazakhs and Russians do. And if one takes, for example, the Meskheti Turks, only one percent of the representatives of that nationality have higher education.

Is that a problem? Definitely. True, certain so-called theoreticians attempt to put a "base" under it: it is just a matter, they say, of the specific peculiarities of the particular nation, a so to speak innate striving for a definite type of activity. According to their theory, the Kazakhs, for example, gravitate more to the scientific sphere, to administrative work; the Uighurs and Kurds "love" trade; the Koreans are vegetable husbandrymen by nature; etc. In a word, it is as though nature itself had predetermined who should engage in what, or how a person should build his life.

Certainly no one can be deceived today by such judgments, which obviously smell of a strong nationalistic spirit. Because the same analysis indicates that this is by no means a matter of national peculiarities, but of cultural ones, it is a matter of those material and cultural conditions that determine the way of life and the environment for the development of specific nations. And those conditions—and we must mention this outright—have been far from identical in our society. Consequently, the main question consists in rendering the maximum assistance to the nations and nationalities that need a sharp rise in their material and spiritual level.

It is understandable that the only way that one can achieve changes here is by universal efforts, by the purposeful actions of all the party, state, and public agencies, including the Komsomol. Therefore large hopes are being placed on the effective work of the public commissions and staff sectors for studying and resolving the problems of national relations and relations among nationalities, which have been created under the Komsomol committees. They have been called upon to provide concrete, efficient recommendations that are aimed at the sharp improvement of the international and patriotic education of the youth.

The field of their activity is truly gigantic. There has been too large a concentration of acute, topical questions that have been awaiting their resolution for years. Certainly it is the job of the Komsomol to join actively in the work that has begun for preparing applicants to institutions of higher learning. Why should young people, when entering an institution of higher learning, put their hopes

not on their knowledge and their capabilities, but upon their nationality, which, in the recent past, was practically a mandate to obtain a higher education? This not only perverted them, and not only suggested to them the idea that they belonged to a chosen, elite nation, but also, at the same time, and to certainly no lesser degree, also debased them, and forced them to accept handouts that are unworthy of a person. It is necessary to free young people of that debasing sense, to give young and women the opportunity to acquire knowledge, to help them to gain complete fluency in the language of communication among nationalities, and to reach a high level of culture, so that they can carry a student's registration card in their pocket without being ashamed, with their head held proudly high. But in order to do this it is necessary first of all to concentrate attention on the quality of instruction in the schools, and especially the rural ones. It is clear that the material base is a bit weaker there, and the teacher cadres not infrequently are inferior to those in the cities, that there are no museums, concert halls, philharmonic orchestras, major libraries, or theaters—in a word, there is a lack of everything that forms a person's cultural, esthetic level.

How does one compensate for this shortcoming? What must be done to allow the rural workers, especially those from the extremely remote areas, from the distant shepherd pastures, to feel that they have not been encroached upon? We mentioned this in detail at the plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee that was devoted to the reform of the higher and secondary school system. The job of the Komsomol is to define precisely its place in the resolution of the tasks that have been assigned, and to furnish a program of actions to the young teacher cadres, the student body at higher institutions of pedagogical learning, and the young people in the republic's creative unions, which can do much to raise the nation's educational and cultural level.

In literally a month or a month and a half, the entrance examinations will begin at the institutions of higher learning. Are the Komsomol committees and organizations ready to participate in the development of the new student replacements? There are a rather large number of problems here. For example, we have come up against the fact that the young people from the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan are extremely uneager to travel to Alma-Ata to attend institutions of higher agricultural learning. They prefer to obtain their education in the institutes in Omsk, Tomsk, and other nearby cities in RSFSR. They say that those places are closer to home, and the students are in a situation that is more familiar to them.

All this is probably so, but are we not losing our young people in this way? It is difficult to hope that, once they receive their diplomas, the young specialists will return to the republic and will begin to improve the animal and vegetable husbandry on the sovkhozes and kolkhozes that they came from. On the contrary, they will seek assignments where they went to school, they will settle in and set down their roots, and then they will just vanish from our life. I

think that we must not look indifferently at this state of affairs. We must "get into a fight" for our young people, we must appeal to their patriotic emotions, we must explain in a manner that is clear to everyone that the strengths, energy, and knowledge of the young are needed today by a republic that is persistently fighting to raise its economic and spiritual potential.

Last year's experience showed that the preparation of applicants for entry to institutions of higher learning is a promising job that yields good results. Therefore the Central Committee Buro, after considering at its session the results of the enrollment at higher educational institutions, defined additional measures aimed at improving that work in 1988.

If one speaks concretely, it has been planned to increase the enrollments to institutions of higher medical learning, and also enrollments in the specialties "Kazakh Language and Literature" and "German Language and Literature." More Kazakh-language teachers will be trained for Russian schools.

Considerably earlier than 1987, the working groups for the occupational selection of applicants to higher educational institutions, which were formed under the party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, began to prepare individuals for their entrance examinations. Special attention has been devoted to selecting and to channeling into training those young people who have production longevity, and also to concluding direct contracts concerning the training of cadres between the institutions of higher learning and the enterprises, organizations, sovkhozes, and kolkhozes. Two hundred forty such contracts have been concluded with enterprises in 50 ministries and departments.

All the republic's higher educational institutions have initiated paid preparatory courses with various periods and forms of instruction. Kazakh Polytechnical Institute, for example, operates 16 such courses, which provide instruction to 1500 students from various cities and villages in Kazakhstan. Starting in April, the representatives of the higher educational institutions have been traveling to all the oblasts to organize vocational-guidance work among the persons who have been earmarked as candidates for enrollment, and to conclude contracts for the training of specialists.

As you can see, the work that is being carried out is multifaceted. And, of course, the republic's Komsomol organizations must find their place in it. For the time being, unfortunately, at most of the institutions of higher learning and technicums the work of the Komsomol committees can be summarized as the setting up of the so-called "display areas for student applicants" and the formal assigning of young men and women who have come to take their examinations to dormitories "on the international principle." The Komsomol must declare a decisive fight against this kind of formalism, must take over the sponsorship of the student applicants who have arrived, especially those

from rural localities, and must guarantee not only the efficient preparation of them for the entrance examinations, but also provide interesting and meaningful activities for their recreational time. In addition to the traditional chats and meetings, it is necessary to make the maximum use of the cultural opportunities of the capital and the oblast centers, to organize trips and visits to plays, motion-picture theaters, and museums, and to reveal the glorious labor traditions of the large-scale international collectives at industrial enterprises and construction sites. In a word, all the conditions must be created to guarantee the complete preparation of student applicants of any nationality.

Other work that takes on special importance is the work of forming the new generation of the working class. What have we been doing in this regard? What shifts have occurred during the past year? Putting it plainly, we have not yet seen any substantial changes for the better. True, according to the available information, there has been a slight increase in the number of Kazakh young people admitted to occupational-technical schools, and there has been an increase in the number of representatives of the indigenous nationality among the workers in the leading occupations in such branches of electric-energy engineering, the petroleum industry, the coal industry, the mining industry, the building-materials industry, and certain others.

The Komsomol committees and organizations must engage more meaningfully in the analysis of the state of affairs in this regard, must conduct a more persistent propagandizing of the worker occupations, and must strive for a situation in which the young people acquire their class tempering and begin in an aware manner their labor biography at their work station. Our position in this question was expressed at sufficient length in the report from the Central Committee Bureau at the plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. I shall repeat today what was said: if you have not been a worker, if you don't have the "smell of the factory," you can never do any administrative work. It is only in the crucible of the labor collective that a person can acquire the qualities that he will need for his entire subsequent life.

It is necessary to think ahead of time how best to organize the selection for acceptance to occupational-technical schools this year. The complexity consists in the fact that in our republic they are subordinate to different departments and organizations—to the Ministry of Public Education, Gosagroprom, industrial enterprises—and this, of course, can create confusion and lack of coordination in actions. It is important to make sure that this matter is not allowed to drift along without control.

Nor should we ignore those young people who, as a result of the new rules, might be excluded from general-educational schools as a result of their poor grades. Every young boy or girl who has found himself or herself in this situation must be under the special scrutiny of the Komsomol organizations. Help must be given to them in finding a job or

learning an occupation, and they must in no instance be left to fend for themselves. These measures will completely preclude their living an idle way of life.

A special question is the effective use of labor resources. At the present time a lot is being done in the republic to increase the number of work stations in the regions with an excess of labor resources. This work even includes the "bringing in" of work to people, creating local branches and shops for enterprises in light industry. However, we are beginning to come up against difficulties in the recruitment of working cadres. The situation has reached the point of a paradox: we open up a new enterprise in a rayon that is known to have "excessive" labor resources, but in order for that enterprise to function normally, we also bring workers there! Moreover, those workers sometimes come from outside the confines of the republic. We pay them increased wages, we expend funds to bring in people... And if one adds up all the costs incurred, the question immediately arises: was all this fuss really necessary?

Of course, in order to organize work and to create the skeleton of a future collective, it is indeed necessary to bring in specialists from outside. But certainly not the entire production personnel. Otherwise, to express it figuratively, the game isn't worth the candle. Therefore the Komsomol's main attention in the job of training the young worker replacements must currently be concentrated precisely in the republic's areas with an excess of labor resources. Society needs its own skilled cadres of workers and specialists. For the time being, unfortunately, the training of even certified engineers by no means always corresponds to the present-day requirements. It is no secret that many enterprises refuse to accept the graduates of certain higher educational institutions in Kazakhstan. Here, once again, it is necessary to return to the vitally important question of the stricter and the more efficient selection of student applicants. Because the kind of people who fill the student auditorium and who fill the students' seats in the classrooms largely determine our future engineering potential.

It is not by accident that I emphasize the engineering potential, because during recent years young people have been showing a greater and greater preference for the institutions of higher learning which specialize in the humanities. Why is that? It is necessary for the Komsomol also to think seriously about this and to make its contribution to raising the prestige of engineering labor.

Recently we have been devoting an especially large amount of attention to questions linked with the development of national-Russian bilingualism. In this process we have been considering them from various points of view: political, legal, moral. This multifaceted approach is dictated by life itself, because language is not only a means of communications, but is also an important attribute of the existence of a nation, and the storage house of the people's spiritual values. That is why the Kazakh CP Central Committee and the KaSSR government have adopted the well-known decrees concerning

the improvement of the study of the Kazakh and Russian languages, as well as enacting other effective measures that are aimed at firmly establishing bilingualism as a major direction in linguistic policy.

One can speak confidently about the fact that last year our republic eliminated many of the previous obstacles that had been preventing people from making the maximum use of their constitutional right to study their native language and Russian. Additional groups have been created for the purpose of educating children in kindergartens in Kazakh, Uygur, German, Polish, and certain other languages, and new classrooms with the same approach have been opened in the schools. Textbooks, dictionaries, and conversational guides have been published for persons who wish to study languages in study groups or independently.

However, all these opportunities are not being used everywhere in the manner that one would want. In some places there are not enough qualified teachers and the work in the study groups is being conducted in a formal manner, or has even been completely stifled. Special indignation is evoked by the indifferent attitude toward the linguistic training of young men and women of induction age, the future defenders of our Motherland.

Probably everyone was shaken by the report on the tragedy that occurred on the territory of the German Democratic Republic when a tank that was being driven by a fellow countryman of ours from Aktyubinsk collided with a passenger train. In addition to the other causes that led to the train crash and the loss of human lives, one factor was the mechanic-driver's poor knowledge of Russian. He failed to understand a command and did not stop the tank in time. So life itself teaches us bitter lessons.

Are the proper conclusions being made from this? Judging from the available data, not too many, inasmuch as the tendency toward an increase in the number of persons who do not know Russian among the inductee contingent is continuing. And that is why our lads are sent to serve not in missile or electronic units, where a large amount of knowledge and a high rate of efficiency are required, but to construction battalions. I want to be understood correctly: any duty in the army is honorable, including duty in a construction battalion. But every young person wants to learn a modern, prestigious occupation. The army has all the opportunities for a person to do this. And the republic has a self-interest in having the largest possible number of specialists for the purpose of developing the most advanced, most science-intensive branches of industry. In the near future they will receive broad development.

The question of educating our adolescents continues to be an acute one. There have already been many references to the increase in crime, in the number of serious moral perversions in this group of the population. It sometimes happens that 11- or 12-year old children are

put in restricted zones that differ very little from prisons. What does this attest to? It is much simpler to put a "difficult" adolescent under lock and key, in a prison cell, and then wait calmly until—whether you want it or not, but you have to admit that it happens—he comes out of there a hardened criminal...

The time has finally come to analyze wherein lie the roots of these undesirable situations and not just make a half-hearted attempt to eradicate them, as is currently done nowadays, but actually to find out the causes of the distortion of the adolescents' spiritual world. I do not want to give any ready-made recipes, but why don't we think carefully about why children prove to be left to their own devices and why a so-called informal leader, who frequently has a criminal past, can gather them under his "roof."

It is also worthy thinking about when we might be overdoing it when we put the emphasis on organizing recreational activities for young people. This is something that, without a doubt, they ought to engage in. They need clubs for their various interests, they need discotheques and other intelligent forms of recreation. But the time for recreation comes after a person has performed some work, after he has become tired and he needs some simply physical way to unwind after a strenuous work day. But our young people, to put it plainly, have not "worked up a sweat" from working and frequently they suffer from boredom and have been satiated with recreation.

The time came long ago to be concerned about organizing fully valid labor for adolescents. You can see the satisfaction with which they work, for example, in contractual family teams in the rural areas. They sense that they are fully valid people who are earning their bread. And this sense is especially important in order to confirm the adolescent's individuality, important for his own self-respect and the awareness of his own importance. I am convinced that, with a certain amount of persistence, the Komsomol will be able to find for young people, including students in the upper classes, a worthy job to perform, and moreover one that is not a "play job," but a real one. And there is no need to be afraid of the ruble that has been earned by adolescents. An honestly earned ruble is also a very importance means of self-affirmation. When that happens, many of the far-fetched problems of free time will probably disappear by themselves.

I would like to say a few words about youth leaders. The time of democratization and glasnost has brought forth a rather large number of young men and women who previously remained in the shadows, but who today are boldly assuming the functions of youth organizers. And it must be admitted that they sometimes are doing this in a much more dynamic and much more intelligent manner than the staff Komsomol workers. These informal leaders sometimes intimidate others by the sharpness of

their judgments, by their approaches to various problems, which approaches are "incorrect" from the generally accepted point of view. But youth is typified by maximalism. Young people sometimes want to state something that shocks the older people, if only to overstep verbally the prohibitions that the older people have established. Is it necessary to be afraid of this? Is it necessary to apply all efforts to fight these informal leaders, driving them into the customary formalistic confines? No, on the contrary. If a person can organize young people, if the young people believe in him and follow after him, then it would be wiser to take a good look at that person, to draw him to your own side, to give him the opportunity to reveal in full measure his frequently considerable organizing capabilities. The Komsomol needs people like this very much today.

It is difficult to enumerate all the problems confronting the republic's Komsomol organization in providing the international and patriotic education of the youth. But one thing is indisputable: the process of education will be improved in proportion to the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions for people's life. That is why so much attention is being devoted currently in the republic to the building of housing, to the resolution of the difficult questions of food supply, to the improvement of the moral-psychological climate, and to the introduction of order in areas that pertain to the strict observance of the principles of social justice.

Despite the noticeable shifts, a goodly number of jobs still lie ahead. There is an especially large number of unresolved matters in such spheres as public health, the ecology, and the raising of the cultural and material standard of living for certain categories of workers, especially those living in the southern and western rayons of Kazakhstan. In those rayons, for example, the high birth rate combines with an inordinate child fatality rate, and with a complicated tuberculosis situation. How can one explain this? Primarily, of course, by shortages of medical services, which shortages must be eradicated as urgently as possible. But one should not disregard other factors—the poor sanitation, the incorrect nutritional structure for the population, and certain well-established customs that exert a harmful influence upon people's health. There is a need for the most serious and the broadest explanatory, educational work in these areas, some of which the Komsomol must take upon its shoulders.

It is symbolic that the plenum of the Kazakhstan Komsomol is taking place on the eve of the opening of the 19th All-Union Party Congress, which will sum up the results of the nationwide work of perestroika and will set new goals in the struggle to renew society. In the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee it is especially emphasized that the Komsomol, alongside of the other social organizations, has been called upon to participate actively in all the processes of perestroika, giving a new interpretation to its position and role and revealing its capabilities more completely under the new conditions. I am convinced that the situation that has been created for this in the republic and in the country is the proper one, and now it is a matter of Komsomol initiative.

The variety of jobs created by the radical reform of the national economy and by the democratization of all aspects and spheres in the life of Soviet citizens, G. V. Kolbin said in conclusion, requires the young replacements in the working class and the labor peasantry to demonstrate high spiritual energy and moral health. That is why it is so important to protect the souls of the young men and women from the corrupting influence of an ideology that is alien to us, from indifference to the Motherland's needs and concerns, and from the unnoticed, and thus all the more dangerous, microbes of nationalism and chauvinism. It is necessary to educate young men and women to be continuers of our cause, the cause of the Great October. And that means to educate them to be patriots and internationalists and true carriers of the revolutionary spirit.

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Komsomol adopted a resolution in which it is emphasized that the preparation for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee have evoked among the young men and women of Kazakhstan a new upsurge in their creative and sociopolitical participation, and their striving to increase their contribution to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. In implementing the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic's Komsomol organizations have been called upon to intensify the international and patriotic education of the youth and the mobilization of young people to achieve high final results in labor and training.

Official Gives Views on Solving Book Publishing Problems

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[Article by Marat Shishigin, head of the Main Administration of Republic and Oblast Publishing Houses, member of the collegium of the USSR Goskomizdat: "The Book Famine": Fantasy and Reality"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] Marat Shishigin was born in 1930. He was the director of the "Fizkultura i Sport" (Physical Culture and Sports) Publishing House and the deputy chairman of the board of VAAP (All-Union Copyright Agency). He is now head of the Main Administration of the Republic and Oblast Publishing Houses and a member of the collegium of the USSR Goskomizdat (State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers on Affairs of Publishing Houses, Printing and the Book Trade).

The dissatisfaction of readers, the acute shortage of certain books, the democratization of the publishing process—today these topics are never off the pages of newspapers and magazines. The interest in book publishing problems which is being displayed under the conditions of glasnost is understandable and explainable.

Many published materials help publishers to evaluate more realistically the state of affairs in their sphere and to eliminate inadequacies in their work; they suggest as well ways to more fully satisfy reader demand. For example, consideration for the wishes expressed by the authors of letters published in the press was a factor in the production of several massive series, anthologies and and "libraries." These are the "Library of Youth"; History of the Fatherland in Novels, Stories and Documents"; the "Library of Fantasy"; the collected works of V. Klyuchevskiy, S. Solovyev, N. Karamzin, M. Bulgakov, B. Pasternak and V. Pikul; and collections of poetry by V. Vysotskiy.

Recently the USSR Goskomizdat approved an all-Union program for the publication of mass demand literature. It includes more than 100 titles of the most popular reference works, children's books and adult fiction and poetry. About 10,000 readers took part in the formulation of this program. One can name dozens of other publishing projects and programs which have been prompted by readers' letters and comments in the press.

However, sometimes the letters and other materials published in the press contain judgments and conclusions which are subjective and unrealistic due to the authors' lack of knowledge about the state of affairs in book publishing and related sectors of the economy. We shall attempt to examine the most common of these judgments and assertions.

Let us begin with the main point. "The situation with regard to the publication of children's books and adult fiction in our country has deteriorated in recent years. For the enormous mass of the population the possibility of acquiring a book has become illusory and unrealizable," Yu. Mikhaylov writes in an article entitled "On the Book Diet, the Old Calendar and a Fresh Breeze," published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA.

And what evidence do the official statistics provide? During the 11th Five-Year Plan nearly 19 percent more books and pamphlets were published than in the preceding five-year plan. In 1986, the production of these items grew 4.7 percent in comparison with the previous year. Consumers spent 2 billion 246 million rubles in book stores and acquired an average of eight books for every person.

As we see, the output of printed matter in our country has grown steadily in recent years. Now only one country in the world exceeds us on this indicator—the People's Republic of China.

The authors of critical articles frequently claim that since the 50's there been no change in the number of copies printed of the classic works. But what in fact has happened?

It is in fact in recent years that book publishing projects unprecedented in scope have been undertaken: the publication of the "Library of World Literature," "Library of the Classics," the series "Classics and Contemporaries." Popular classical works in editions numbering in the millions have become a common phenomenon. Even five to ten years ago this was practically impossible. I will cite statistical data from the All Union Book Chamber. In 1960 there was not one single case of a child's book or work of adult fiction being published in an edition of more than a million copies. And in the decade from 1974 through 1983, for example, the books of L. Tolstoy came out in an edition of 190.2 million copies, the books of A. Pushkin in an edition of 151.1 million copies, and the books of A. Chekhov in an edition of 67.3 million copies. And here are publication figures for the best works of children's literature: in 1985, the books of S. Marshak were published in 35 editions totaling 16.2 million copies, and the books of K. Chukovskiy were published in 36 editions totaling 11.5 million copies.

A program, which is enormous in terms of its scale and its social and cultural significance, has been carried out since 1985; it is program of unlimited subscription to the classics of domestic literature. More than 10 million people, or nearly one sixth of all families, subscribed to the three-volume Pushkin, and six million subscribed to the two-volume V. Mayakovskiy. By 1995 readers will have received the opportunity to subscribe to the selected works of M. Gorkiy, S. Yesenin, N. Nekrasov, N. Gogol, M. Lermontov, A. Chekov, F. Dostoevskiy, L. Tolstoy, I. Turgenev and A.N. Tolstoy. That is how matters stand in fact with regard to the publication of domestic classics.

Another quite common claim made by the critics: the shelves of stores have books which no one needs, and year after year the publishing houses continue to publish them, that is, the country's "book famine" is planned. Yes, there are books on the bookstore shelves which constitute publishing failures. But are there many of them? And can the situation with regard to these editions be corrected? No, of course not. The cost of books which are written off every year amounts to less than one percent (or more accurately 0.6 percent) of the total trade turnover in books.

Let us proceed in our attempt to examine this situation. As a rule, the reader draws a conclusion about the benefit to be derived from any given books on the basis of his interests and predilections. If he does not find in the store the book which he personally needs, this, of course, is a reason to criticize the publishers. However, you will agree, the opinion of the reader who ignores other literature which has gone on sale does not mean that the latter is of no use to anyone. For example, manuals on the repair of television sets are not necessary to the overwhelming majority of people, but specialists cannot get along without them.

And when technical reference books, like any other reference works or textbooks, are published in large editions it is because consideration is being given to the fact that every year there will be new readers for them. And if these books sit on the bookstore shelves for a long time, this hardly proves the inadvisability of publishing them at all.

According to the data from the 1986 list of titles, 55.7 million copies of unsold books from all those put out by the country's publishing houses in 1982-1984 were discovered in the book selling network. They include many titles which were not bought yesterday but which will definitely be bought tomorrow—encyclopedias, dictionaries, reference books, certain subsidized textbooks, which were not distributed to the schools in time, etc.

Children's books and adult fiction constituted 55.7 percent of the total book production volume in 1986. Let us add to that the 25 percent for textbook publications (making a total of 80.7 percent). Thus it turns out that only about 20 percent of the country's annual book production volume is left for other types of literature—social-political, scientific-technical and production literature, encyclopedias and other reference works.

Nor should one forget that a book is an end product, the result of work not only by authors and publishers, but also by the producers of paper, paints and other materials; that is, a book synthesizes the strong and weak points of all those who participate in its creation. And, naturally, the position of those who think that everything depends only on the publishers does not contribute to the correct molding of public opinion or to the objective comprehension of the processes which are taking place in book publishing.

Some specialists claim that today there are 200, perhaps a maximum of 300 titles of fiction, encyclopedias and other reference books, which are in the greatest demand. The conditions of the book market—and it is the main barometer of the satisfaction of the demand for books—have changed substantially in comparison with the 70's and early 80's. The "book boom" has fallen off noticeably. The population's demand for the works of Marxist-Leninist classics is fully satisfied, as are the textbook needs of the general education schools, the VUZes and the tekhnikum.

Many of the world and domestic classics can be bought freely in the stores. Estonia, for example, has achieved the country's highest level of book sales: nearly 15 rubles per year per person. Today there is a shortage of only certain kinds of books which are put out by the central publishing houses.

The publishers of Russia and Belorussia are successfully resolving the problem of shortages. Most of the Union republics have a good selection of the domestic and foreign classics and of works by modern authors in the languages of the nationalities. Moreover, some publications which are in short supply in Russian sell slowly when translated into the nationality languages. Typically fiction and works of literary criticism account for the largest percentage of the remainders, more than 50 percent. In Kazakhstan, for example, the remainders of unsold output include translations into the nationality languages of Russian poetry classics, the works of Aleksin, Bondarev, Rasputin and other popular writers, who in their original language vanish in a day from the shelves of those same stores.

In the past, in the period of general book shortages, the task was to increase the output of all book production. Now it is necessary to fill the market only with that for which the demand is unsatisfied, that is, the time has come for a careful analysis of the business conditions of the book market, for careful study of readers' needs, and for a selective rather than a gross approach to literary output.

Last year we produced in this country an average of eight books and pamphlets per person. Is this a lot or not enough? Only a sociological study can provide a precise answer. Recently the Book Institute was created within the USSR Goskomizdat system; it is supposed to analyze the processes which are taking place in the book market. Its recommendations will be a reference point for book publishers.

An important way to eliminate the shortages and associated jobbing is to improve reprinting practices. It is essential to reprint the best children's books, domestic and foreign classics, encyclopedias and other reference books according to a definite schedule. The reader must know for sure that if he cannot get a book he needs this year, he will be able to get it next year. The absence of such a guarantee and the lack of information about publishers' plans produces tension in the book market and arouses the justified dissatisfaction of readers.

The reprinting system also reflects an attitude toward the spiritual wealth which the book represents. As of now we are substantially behind the world's leading book publishing countries in this regard. In France, for example, reprints constitute 30 percent of all book output, while in our country they constitute 10 percent.

Today it is important to work out a realistic approach to the problem of satisfying reader demand. And for this it is worth taking a look into the future. If even one tenth of families strive to acquire the more popular books, then it will be necessary to print them in editions of 7 million copies. Such editions require—as a minimum—a doubling of the country's book production volume. The state will need to invest enormous sums in the construction of new and the expansion of old printing enterprises, book warehouses and stores.

And there is another, ecological, aspect to this problem. The continuous growth in the output of newspapers, magazines and books will require the expansion of paper production. Perhaps not everyone knows that a ton of newsprint represents 5 cubic meters of cut forest. And to produce a 300-page book in an edition of 200,000 copies requires about 50 tons of paper. A conclusion suggests itself: the thoughtless development of book production will exacerbate the ecological situation in the country.

In her article "With Faith and Optimism" (SOVETS-KAYA KULTURA, 23 June 1987) N. Kuznetsova cites a letter by a docent, A. Novikov: "It is my deep conviction that the reason for the crisis in the book business is not in the small size of editions, but rather in the actual orientation of book dissemination, which is primarily toward the sale of literature. To provide every resident of our universally literate country with even a small personal library is a task which is no less realistic than to feed a thousand persons with five loaves of bread. If you set the goal of providing every family (70 million!) with, let us say, 200 books, then it is necessary to produce 14 billion books! The book problem will be resolved when the editions of the publications which people need are sent to libraries."

And in fact, when the discussion turns to the satisfaction of the demand for books, why does one have in mind their purchase, the acquisition of private property, as if this is the only way to read them? Rarely do the readers say in their letters that they were unable to read a given book; they all write: I could not buy it. There is a watershed here between consumer demand—"I want to buy it"—and reader demand—"I want to read it." To a genuine book lover it is not fundamentally important how he becomes acquainted with a new work, whether it is his own or a library book. For him it is the result and not the form for the satisfaction of his need which is important.

In recent years the press, radio, and television, in my view, have concentrated most of their attention on the book shortage problem; it seems they have started to

forget about instilling the culture of reading and popularizing public forms of book use. If one analyzes the publications of recent years devoted to the problems of book shortages, nearly all of them, despite different approaches to the treatment of the subject, are similar in one regard: they consistently suggest expanding the output of books which are sold for personal use. Objectively these publications have shaped people's conviction that a personal library is the best means of gaining access to literature. And the discussion has rarely turned to the use of the very extensive collections of libraries and reading rooms or the intelligent combination of both personal as well as public forms for satisfying a reader's interest.

It is no a secret to anyone that today excessive book acquisition has emerged as a problem. In some people the love of books has taken the form of an attachment to their physical form, and the spiritual essence has become secondary.

Many readers do not want to consider the fact that a significant portion of the literature published in our country is channeled into the library system, which, by the way, exists and is developed exclusively for them. The author of one of the letters draws this conclusion. "You are the state, so supply me with books, but I will not go to your libraries." Today the country has more than 320,000 general and specialized libraries with total book holdings of about 6 billion volumes. Tens of millions of rubles are spent every year to maintain and develop them. In the last five-year plan literature worth nearly 900 million rubles was sold to the country's libraries. According to the official statistics, the public book collections are utilized by 220 million readers to whom more than 5 billion printed works are issued every year. All this provides evidence that the system of public forms of book usage in this country is operating and continuing to develop; it is a system which in principle has even now real opportunities to satisfy the demands of the overwhelming majority of readers.

At the same time the situation is truly paradoxical. On the one hand, people look for books in stores, and they criticize publishers and employees in the book trade for the lack of the necessary books; on the other hand, the number of readers is dropping and many books, including those which are not available in bookstores, are circulating very slowly, while others are not in demand at all.

Despite the fact that the USSR Ministry of Culture has recently taken a series of measures to increase library attendance, the situation is not changing in any fundamental way. Book circulation in the state library system amounts to 1.5, that is, every other book on average is issued a total of three times a year. In Lithuania, Latvia, Tadzhikistan and Estonia this indicator is even lower at 1.0-1.3. The declining interest in libraries is undoubtedly the consequence of an increase in personal collections. But, after all, the sale of books to the population will increase still further; there are real grounds for this. Under these conditions what should be the tactics and

strategy of the libraries? In my view, it is important above all to limit somewhat the growth in the number of libraries in our country and to reject extensive methods for the development of libraries. For the sake of improving the statistics libraries were born and made their way into report summaries; many of these are libraries with meager collections, poorly equipped, located in unsuitable quarters, and they have emerged, as a rule, in the major cultural centers.

I think that today fewer libraries should be opened; they should be built more for their specific purpose on the basis of new designs. They should be more comfortable, and above all, they should be located in the new industrial cities and rayons, as well as in rural areas.

An up-to-date library is a comfortable and convenient place to work. Although at present there is not enough of that convenience either. It must be possible for the reader to get xerox copies of magazine and newspaper articles or of individual sections of a literary work, as well as other services.

In addition to the lack of conveniences there is another "sore point" in the operations of libraries: they have been forced to write off books in growing numbers. This process is to some degree natural. From year to year more and more books are received, and they crowd out old stocks because book storage areas are being expanded slowly. And so it happens that in addition to completely ruined books, others which are completely suitable for reading are thrown away. It is true they also write them off for another reason, and that is because it is necessary to use the funds allotted for the expansion of book stocks. If you do not spend your budget, your allotment will be reduced. The libraries have no interest in the careful use of discarded books.

And that is why the USSR Ministry of Culture and USSR Goskomizdat have ordered an experiment which has been taking place in the Komi ASSR, as well as the Sverdlovsk and Kharkhov oblasts since 1987: books from library collections have been sold to the public through second-hand booksellers. The experiment is going well; it needs support and widespread dissemination. It creates material interest in the sale of the books which are being written off, since 80 percent of the money obtained from the sale of the books is put at the disposal of the library's collective, which can award bonuses, acquire new books or furniture, etc.

If this experience were applied everywhere, it would make it possible to put into commercial circulation a significant quantity of book production, to better satisfy consumer demand, and, most importantly, to change the attitude toward books.

It seems to me that there is now a need to shape the modern idea of the role of the book in our society and to determine the most advisable combination of individual and social forms for the satisfaction of the demand for books.

In brief, our scholars and practitioners need to create a scientific concept of book usage which would flow from the socialist way of life and would contribute to the education of the new man. Such a concept would help publishers to determine correctly, from a scientific viewpoint, the rate and volume of book production and sales in our country, and it would help workers in the cultural sphere to determine construction plans for the network of libraries and reading rooms.

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Historians Discuss Approach To Blank Spots In Uzbek History

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[Round table discussion at the editorial board of PRAVDA VOSTOKA mediated by A. Tankhelson and V. Altunin: "Institute of Party History at Uzbek CP Central Committee and PRAVDA VOSTOKA Propose To Discuss Blank Spots in Our History." The article is preceded by an epigraph: "People must be told the truth. Only then will they open their eyes and learn to fight against the untruth. V.I. Lenin."]

[Text] Reading newspapers, magazines, and new works of scientific literature and fiction today, we discover, it seems, history anew. And it is natural, since not only particular facts but whole periods of history up to the recent time have remained either in a shadow or have received a biased explanation, which has nothing in common with the historical truth.

The "Short course of the VKP(b) History," revised and emasculated by Stalin, became a standard for all following big and small works on the Party and the country's history. At the same time, the main requirements toward these works were not to step aside even in minor details from the outlined and blessed from above course and to keep them within the Procrustean bed. The science of history experienced a deep crisis not only in the central parts of the country but also in the peripheral locations. And today we find ourselves in front of an urgent necessity to correct the losses experienced by this science.

The history of the Uzbek CP and of our republic must be rewritten. And we must do it based on the premises determined by the General Secretary of the CPSU, M.S. Gorbachev, in his speech in Tashkent: "... the Party must demonstrate courage and willpower, to free itself from the previously formed notions of socialism carrying a stigma of certain conditions and especially those of the personality cult period. The Party must free itself from the old notions concerning the methods of socialist development and, the most important thing, it must get rid of everything that, generally speaking, was deforming socialism and was binding the creativeness of the people."

It is the right time to remember Karamzin, who used to say that a historian should rejoice and grieve together with his peoples. Unfortunately, this advice did not become essential for those who wrote history, except, maybe, in the part of rejoicing and there was plenty of it. And as a result, many pages of our history are crudely distorted and subjectively interpreted.

It is impossible to overcome such a situation, predetermined by the top authorities, without establishing a real pluralism of opinions in the science of history. An objective, strictly scientific, and unbiased demonstration of the past and present, openness, and glasnost must help

in healing the society, in freeing it of everything which is alien to the humane nature of socialism and, as a result, healing the science of history itself.

Starting the discussion at the "business meeting table," we took as a basis the notion of the theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference that "We are far from being indifferent not only toward the problem of goals and values of socialism, but also toward the means of achieving them and the human price that we are to pay for them. Rehabilitation of those who in the past became victims of unjustified political accusations and unlawful actions is our Party and civic duty."

The blank spots of history. Who will fill them in? This was the subject of a discussion at the editorial board of PRAVDA VOSTOKA among the following participants: the director of the Institute of Party history at the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Sh.S. Ziyamov; deputy director of the Institute of Party history, Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor K. Fazykhodzhaev; editor-in-chief of the journal KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA, Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor R.A. Nurullin; head of the CPSU history department at the Tashkent State University, Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor L.V. Gentshke; Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor A. Khamidkhodzhaev; Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor M. Musayev; Doctor of Historical Sciences S.I. Gitlin; Candidate of Philosophical Sciences B. Kh. Vakhidov; and Candidate of Historical Sciences Sh.N. Yakubov.

[Mediator] In order to recreate the historical truth in its whole volume, it is necessary, firstly to identify correctly, openly, and widely, the disease and those phenomena in the society that created the blank spots in our history. It seems that the main task of a scientist is to reveal the objective logic of history, to determine its regularities and ties between historical events, to show the continuity between the Great October's achievements and today's revolutionary perestroika, and to restore the clean, undistorted image of Socialism.

[L. Gentshke] The basis of many studies concerning the history of the Uzbek CP is a dogmatic notion that there are no conflicts during the development of the Party and the whole Soviet society, which led to overembellishment of the reality and distortion of the historical truth. The whole process of social development of the republic looked like a smooth, continuous ascent. Contradictions typical for the society's development practically disappeared. The stagnant character of historical Party studies up to the recent time was to a great extent connected with a stereotyped notion of socialism which was formed half-a-century ago. The stiffened image of Socialism was preventing the understanding of new problems in their dynamics and the dialectic approach to determining the political significance of both positive and negative aspects of historical experience. A great harm to historical studies in the republic was inflicted by the dogmatic and dictatorial principle that it was sufficient for any

public figure to make a single political mistake in order to be pronounced a supposedly fatal enemy of Leninism. This led to the depersonalization of history. Any mention of such important figures in the Uzbek CP as A. Ikramov, V. Ivanov, F. Khodzhaev, and others who were tagged as "enemies of the people," was eliminated.

[Sh. Ziyamov] Under the conditions of the cult of personality and flagrant violations of constitutional rights, not only politically mature, experienced, and devoted to the Party leading cadres, but also workers, kolkhoz farmers, and cultural workers were subjected to repressions. Based on denunciations and slander, and sometimes without any of those, honest people, both Communist and non-members of the Party who courageously disclosed shortcomings, were framed up. They were accused of belonging to nonexistent nationalistic and insurgent organizations and spying for many foreign intelligences. The revolutionary vigilance was replaced with spy mania. A notion that the people unanimously condemn the "enemies of the people" was forcibly implanted.

[Mediator] Was it really like that?

[Sh. Ziyamov] It was a suffocating atmosphere. Fear oppressed the senses. Many were afraid to say an unnecessary word knowing what might follow. However, history preserved also evidence of many courageous men of principle who openly spoke against the lawlessness. The following facts are of interest. In 1938 in Akkurganskiy rayon, 30 kolkhoz farmers wrote a letter to the rayon procuracy and the rayispolkom demanding to free an unlawfully convicted kolkhoz farmer. Otherwise, they requested to be imprisoned together with him. In Yangi-yul'skiy rayon, 75 kolkhoz farmers made a similar statement. To rehabilitate and to name the people who spoke up against the punitive machine set in motion by Stalin and his cohorts, is the scientific as well as civic duty of an historian.

We must show based on wide documentation the great significance of the 20th CPSU Congress which, in essence, started to debunk the personality cult to restore Lenin's norms of democracy inside the Party, and to rehabilitate the honest names of unjustifiably repressed people. We must fill out these blank spots based on the most careful studies of documentary materials. Those who survived the terror of Stalin's years can make an inestimable contribution to this work. At the same time, it is very important that unsupported speculations and subjective assessments would not enter the pages of history.

[S. Gitlin] We must assess in principle more than the repressions. The main question is why was it possible during socialism? How could it have happened that the dictatorship of proletariat was replaced with the dictatorship of personality? We must provide the people with complete, argued, and full answers to these questions. We should also mention the conditions under which historians were put. It is doubtful that a courageous, honest, and unpolished publication could see light.

Archives sources are the main basis for the forthcoming work. In my opinion, they must be treated strictly and demandingly using the only criterion, namely, what do they reflect: the truth or a lie. Here is an example of it. In 1968 the Buro of the Central Committee of the Uzbek CP had ascertained that electrification of Uzbekistan is complete. In 1970 they again ascertained that electrification is complete. Actually, only 13 percent of industrial capacities were using electric power at that time.

[Mediator] Wide glasnost and truth told without fear, these are most reliable tools of today's historian who is called to recreate the most complete picture of our distant and not so distant past. How do you intend to use these tools?

[Sh. Ziyamov] Probably, we should write the history of the Communist Party of the republic and restore its first pages starting with the pre-October period. Today, assessing the situation with this period studies, we must admit that the social-democratic movement in Turkestan is studied quite poorly. Problems of national liberation and revolutionary movements converging into a single flow require a complex study. There is an obvious necessity of deep study and reassessment from the really Marxist positions of such a phenomenon as Dzhadidism, its role in social development, and the attitude of Communist organization toward it.

Based on the modern understanding of this period in the history of the whole country, we have to investigate deeper the period just before the February revolution and the victory of the Socialist revolution in Turkestan. I am talking not about creating a new scheme of October's victory in Turkestan, but about an urgent need to study Bolshevik activities in the kray from the positions of political alternatives of historical development and the most complex political struggle with the local opposition. Indeed, as M.S. Gorbachev mentioned, exactly "in the complex interweaving and antagonism of class forces, which have participated in the February revolution, Lenin brilliantly noticed the possibilities for the Socialist revolution victory." Up to now, such a problem as dynamics of mutual relations between Bolsheviks and petty-bourgeois parties in Turkestan and, firstly, of those with the left social-revolutionaries. This problem is actual also for the post-October period. The necessity for specifically mentioning this subject is caused by the fact that the Party history science in Central Asia addresses these problems to some degree incorrectly. In particular, in many works including the "Essays on History of Communist Organizations in Central Asia" the process of the left social revolutionaries disappearance from the political stage is described as an act of integration.

[R. Nurullin] The history of the Party organization of the republic and, especially that of its predecessors, namely, the Communist Parties of Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khorezm, is the history of their struggle against the bourgeois, bourgeois-nationalistic, feudal-clerical, and petty-bourgeois parties representing interests of various

classes and social groups. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries more than 50 large political parties of 4 types, namely, 6 landlord-monarchist, 22 bourgeois, 17 petty-bourgeois, and the revolutionary social-democratic party of bolsheviks were formed. As a result of the revolutionary process development and class struggle, only one, the Leninist Party which most fully represents the interest of proletariat and broad people's masses remained in the country, while other political parties did not pass the trial. The All-Russian landlord-monarchist, bourgeois, and petty-bourgeois parties which acted in our region, and various local bourgeois-nationalistic, feudal-clerical, and national-democratic parties and organizations experienced the same fate. Unfortunately, the history of the latter ones has not become yet a subject of serious study. Describing the development of the freedom movement in the kray, it is necessary to show objectively the history of these parties, their political platforms, and their concrete activities. Especially it is true for the left social revolutionaries, Young Bukharians, and Young Khivians whom the Communist organizations of the region joined in a temporary revolutionary block, which became a factor in consolidation of revolutionary forces in their struggle against the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government, emir of Bukhara, and khans of Khiva.

[Sh. Ziyamov] Exactly such an approach with taking into account the political realities of that time will help us to create a true and convincing picture of how Bolsheviks became within the shortest historical term the most popular party among the people. We must specifically mention the left social revolutionaries. Actually, their union with the Bolshevik Party did not take place. We cannot discuss this subject so simplistically as it was done in some studies. Today we have unquestionable documents which show that it was not a convergence of parties but rather an influx of the left social revolutionaries, who rejected the ideology of their party and accepted the ideological platform of the Communists, into the ranks of the Turkestan Communist Party.

[L. Gentshke] The time has come to discuss separately the problem of the struggle among groups in the leading bodies of both the Turkestan and the Uzbek Communist Parties. It is important to reveal the social roots of this struggle, its scale, and transformation at the different stages of the Socialist development. We are still lacking serious publications describing the class struggle processes under the conditions of a transfer to socialism passing capitalism. At the same time, one should not forget that unlike the Russian countryside, where kulaks were partially expropriated in 1918 already, in Central Asia including Uzbekistan, farmland of bays and even of some landlords was untouched up until the land and water reform of 1926-1929. The forms of exploiting the dekhkane-chayrikers had a clear feudal character. Thus, under local conditions, as V.I. Lenin noted, the struggle was primarily directed against the remainders of feudalism. These factors had a certain effect on the formation of a national working class as a carrier of the progressive

revolutionary ideology. The time has come to produce a fundamental study describing not only the quantitative growth of the local working class, but also reflecting the qualitative side of this process.

The cooperative movement in the republic is researched very poorly. It is not clear what the level of different cooperation types was and what the fate of the cooperatives was as a result of mass collectivization when serious excessive actions took place.

[Mediator] Yes, for the time being, we have only questions. . .

[i. Gentshke] There are many other questions. The time has come to clearly state and discuss in scientific studies such contradictory phenomena of the 30's as previously unseen enthusiasm of the working class during the first 5-year plan periods and the flagrant violations of the socialist law, and the growing feeling of self-respect in workers and Stalin's cult of personality. Overcoming the stereotyped, dogmatic views requires a new approach toward historical sources including decisions of the Party bodies. It is no secret that for decades a dogmatic view on the Party documents, especially the decisions of the Central Committee and of the Party Congresses, as being the absolute truth in the last instance, was implanted in the minds of historians.

[B. Vakhidov] I would like to add that more often than not, adjustments and biased selection of facts fitting the dead, dogmatic scheme approved by the higher authorities, were made in social sciences. God forbid, if somebody would infringe upon this scheme. . .

[L. Gentshke] This is a correct observation. We remember well how difficult it was to defend, for example, a monograph on the history of the pre-October and post-October periods, and how easy the scientific studies of the 70's prettifying the reality and suppressing the negative processes about to take place, were passing through. Yes, we have littered up pretty well the historical science with waste paper. . .

I must mention the hypnotic effect on historians of certain Party documents including local decisions and resolutions which were widespread during those years. Such an approach to the sources led to dogmatism, hampered the truthful historical accounts, and, I would say, to parasitism of thought of a number of scientists. Why should one think and work on some problem studying it in detail, if everything is already told and is running the smoothly paved road predestined by higher authorities?

[Mediator] It is profoundly significant that this year history examinations in schools are abolished. And this action is appropriate. One cannot study history using falsified, simplified, and depersonalized textbooks. Scientists-historians have a task to recreate our history in its

full volume in order for the people, and especially the young people, to be able to feel themselves to the full extent of these words as successors and continuers of the cause of October.

[Sh. Ziyamov] Analyzing and describing the 70's and early 80's, we must show the depth and all sides of the causes of negative phenomena including "Sharafshidovshchina", which negatively affected all aspects of social life in the republic. This period is described in a multitude of dissertations, monographs, and pamphlets, which, as in the case of the mentioned textbooks, we cannot recommend to a contemporary reader. This quite long period in the life of Uzbekistan must be researched anew.

[R. Nurullin] The thought expressed by M.S. Gorbachev that when we talk about creating a really objective history of the Party and Soviet society, we understand it as writing a truthful and complete history which would be a history of life and the struggle of the peoples, has a great methodological significance. This is the main problem of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of historical studies. To follow it means to show vividly how millions of Soviet people lived, worked, what it was that they believed in, and how victories and failures, and discoveries and errors, were converging. That is, we are to show all bright and tragic events. This would be a scientific-materialistic view of history as a result of the people's masses' activities. This would be its dialectic unbiased understanding examining history in its whole multitude of complexities and contradictions, without a hypertrophied overemphasizing of particular sides.

[Mediator] Obviously, this should be taken as a basis for creating the history of the Uzbek CP and the republic.

[R. Nurullin] Of course, the history of the Uzbek CP like the history of the whole CPSU was not always flowing smoothly. There were errors and extremes which today are openly admitted by both the CPSU and the republican Party organization. This was stressed again in the CPSU Central Committee Theses. The task of Party historians is not to cover up shortcomings but to correctly describe the history of the Uzbek CP and its predecessors, namely, Communist Parties of Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khorezm; to reveal the causes which originated errors, extremes, and negative phenomena in their practical activities; and to show, how with the support and tremendous help of the Central Committee they were eradicated.

[Mediator] Speaking of recreating the objective history of the Uzbek CP, we cannot silently bypass the history of the main Party's reserve, namely, Komsomol. . .

[A. Khamidkhodzhaev] Unfortunately, the history of the Komsomol is generally incorrect. In essence, it must be rewritten anew. I think, that for this purpose an editorial board should be organized which would include scientists-historians, writers, and journalists. We must do it fast, since while the participants of historic events

are still alive, we can collect large material from the original sources. We must give an assessment in principle of activities of particular Komsomol leaders such as Gavrilov, Kobozev, Kachuriner, Isayev, M. Tursunkhodzhayev, and others.

And, finally, we must fill up a substantial blank spot in the Komsomol's history, namely, to show objectively the forms and methods of the Party leadership over the youth movement.

[K. Fazykhodzhaev] For historians, not only live evidence of contemporaries, but also archival documents and materials are important. During the difficult years of repressions, many documents, books, memoirs, letters, and illustrative materials disappeared without a trace. However, many materials survived and limitations on access to archives are partially being removed. Today, a historian may obtain in our archives the unique documents of 4 Central Committees, namely, of Turkestan, Bukhara, Khorezm, and Uzbek Communist Parties. A researcher will find documents on the history of the Communist movement in India, Iran, China, Germany, Hungary, and other countries. It is possible with the help of archive materials to recreate a truthful picture of how together with the Soviet people the revolutionary foreign workers and POWs of WWI were fighting for the Soviet State, defeating basmachi and interventionists. A scientist working on the problems of the international education of working people will find many useful things on the subject of interest. Recently in the archives of the Karakalpak Party obkom we found an unknown letter from internationalists to V.I. Lenin. This document will be entered in the book "Letters from Working People of Turkestan, Khorezm, and Bukhara to V.I. Lenin" which we plan to publish by the 120th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birthday.

[Mediator] The cause of interethnic education was greatly harmed by the thesis that the problem of ethnicities in our country has been completely and permanently resolved. The roots of many negative phenomena in ethnic relations go to the distant and not so distant past. It seems, the research in this field should start from the roots.

[Sh. Yakubov] Yes, many blank spots have been accumulated in researching problems of ethnic relations, in spite of the fact that during the recent years huge numbers of studies showing a bright picture of Lenin's nationality policy's success were published. We must end the declarations and statements for show only, and start a serious research of the causes and origins of the events in Nagornyy Karabakh, Kazakhstan, and the Baltic republics. These events had once again confirmed the failure of statements declaring that the development of ethnic relations does not have any problems. It becomes obvious that the blank spots in this field of the science of history and social studies should be examined not from the point of view of quantitative indicators, namely, how many articles and pamphlets were written, but from the qualitative aspect, that is, how were the most urgent,

painful problems in the field of interethnic relations examined.

The historiography of the origins and development of friendship and cooperation among the brotherly peoples includes a huge number of studies discussing the problems of mutual relations between Uzbekistan and other republics. However, for some reason, problems of strengthening friendship among more than 100 ethnicities and ethnic groups residing in our republic did not attract too much attention from researchers and, therefore, are not adequately reflected in works on the Party's history.

[Mediator] This is a very interesting issue and up until very recently it was never raised. At the same time, an objective discussion of this problem will bring back to life many events and will expose the roots of negative phenomena in the republic, especially those, which took place during the period of stagnation period.

[Sh. Yakubov] The practice of interethnic contacts in the republic shows that sometimes serious worsening of ethnic relations at the person-to-person and group levels could be observed. This phenomenon has manifested itself through the violations of the principle of social justice and was being secured by the personal policies. One of the manifestations of "sharafrashidovshchina" was an unrestrained declaration of friendship with Russian and other peoples, while in practice was a cult of personal devotion based on localistic interest, association of people from the same area, and ethnicity. Such practices have greatly harmed the cause of interethnic education and, generally, negatively affected the state of interethnic relations. All this requires a deep analysis by historians—social scientists.

[B. Vakhidov] The majority of works on national policy require substantial revisions, since they shifted the stress toward the interethnic unity, which concealed from a researcher such phenomena as "nationalism," "chauvinism," and "feudal-bay" vestiges of the past. The problem of ethnic relations should be examined together with the concrete historical conditions. Otherwise, as V.I. Lenin was saying, the research would lead to "subjective cooking."

[M. Musayev] During the late 50's the leading positions were occupied at the same time by really able men of principles and those, who were shaped under the influence of the cult of personality. They were, I would say, the carriers of evil "genius" vices. Their main features were servility and an attitude of trying to please the higher authority. As to this authority, his position precluded any criticism and he was busy, I do not remember who made this remark, "coining cadres." Such people who looked in the eyes of the "chaser" for his sign were also in science. Those are the same people whom we mentioned earlier as "polishers" of history. I have no doubts that these ugly phenomena and people who are responsible for them will get a complete assessment on pages of future history.

Would you agree that the repressions of the 50's mentioned in the documents of the commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee represent another blank spot? History should not be depersonalized. It would be good to name both the heroes and anti-heroes. Still very little space in historical works is devoted to the peoples, industry's innovators, and men of science, culture, enlightenment, and education. And is it not a noble task to show Uzbekistan during the years of the Great Patriotic war, when it became one of the places forging our Victory at the distant home front and provided shelter for hundreds of thousands of people representing dozens of ethnicities. By the way, there are many, many works on the subject, but where is the fundamental work of a historian, or a philosopher, which based on a rich material would give a scientific concept of such notions as peoples' friendship, ethnic peculiarities of one or another ethnicity and their ethnic community of interests, and Soviet patriotism.

In other words, perestroika put in front of us, scientists, both multiple problems in their urgency and wide and promising perspectives...

The participants of the meeting touched upon a wide spectrum of problems without providing an in-depth analysis. Indeed, during the time assigned for the meeting, it was impossible to do so. The purpose of the meeting was to identify the main directions of work, and to single out those problems which today excite not only historians, but every citizen of our country who accepts the process of perestroika with his whole heart and realizes that this process is irreversible.

Without exaggeration, this work is tremendous. It is difficult to overestimate the significance of historical truth cleared of extraneous strata in the communist education. Addressing the origins of our heroic achievements and causes of tragic mistakes, historic achievements of Socialism and voluntaristic distortions of its image, helps us to move successfully forward without repeating the bitter lessons.

Creation of the history of the Uzbek CP and the republic is the task of not only the scientists involved in social studies. The participants of the meeting called for close cooperation of Party and labor veterans, Party, Soviet, and Komsomol workers, writers, and journalists, and all people, who perceive revolutionary perestroika as being in their vital interests and as their main civic and Party responsibility. And the first real input into this work, as the meeting participants have decided, will become the development and publishing of a scientific-popular essay on the history of the Uzbek Communist Party.

Thus, the work has started. The editorial board of PRAVDA VOSTOKA intends to continuously inform the readers of the course of this work in materials under the rubric "Blank Spots of Our History."

We invite all interested people to actively participate.

Writer Granin Decries Survivals of Stalinism
18000539 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Dannil Granin: "From Whom Are We Hiding and Why?"]

[Text] On the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference the "Progress" publishing house released the book "No Other Way". Its authors, academicians T. Zaslavskaya, N. Moiseyev and A. Sakharov, writers A. Adamovich, S. Zalygin and D. Granin, publicists V. Selyunin, Yu. Chernichenko and A. Bovin, historians Yu. Afanasyev and M. Geft, and many others discuss the most urgent problems of society's life, restructuring and the development of glasnost and democracy.

Today we offer our readers part of Dannil Granin's article.

The numerous telling processes of the Stalinist years have instilled a mistrust in these trials within us. The falsifications of "confessions" are being disclosed one after another. People whose names had been turned into monsters are being rehabilitated. Zinovyev and Kamenev, Rykov and Bukharin, Trotskiy and Tomskiy were the embodiments of every conceivable defect for my generation. This became rooted in our minds and entered our flesh and blood from the moment the materials of almost every one of these legal cases had been published in virtually every newspaper. In stenographic detail, day after day, we read the interrogations, confessions, speeches by defenders and prosecutors, and the last words of the condemned. These publications played a decisive role in forming social opinion. To this day, we cannot totally comprehend the secret mechanism behind the spectacle of these cases. These fabricated cases against innocent people were open, carried out for show, albeit publicly. Today, though, the cases against actual criminals—those who have abused the people's trust, who have scorned all moral principles—these take place without glasnost or do not even take place at all. It is difficult to explain this. We need such processes not only for punishment, but also for denunciation, so that the fear of indelible, public disgrace can be felt, so that everyone can understand who is the true enemy of the people and, of course, for the edification of all officials, great or small. We need it to guarantee that they be denounced and not concealed, not covered up, but paraded in front of everybody in miserable nakedness. In Russia such a criminal would have been put in the black pillory, or he would have had his sword broken over his head. Such "shaming punishments" used to exist.

The lack of this type of process, of retribution, is a hindrance. It makes it impossible to raise the question of repentance. First, elementary justice should triumph, after which it would be possible to address the person's conscience.

What prevents us from eliminating Stalinism today? How come can we find proponents of this brutal era and of Brezhnevism—of the time of stagnation, corruption and the trampling of all principles? Who, besides the

obvious criminals, profited from these times? What kind of people are these, who feel no shame in justifying the most repugnant crimes, regardless of the numerous publications of materials and documents?

They are accustomed to blind faith. Furthermore, there are some for whom it is profitable, for whom the honest competition of minds and abilities is not convenient.

There is the former chief, be he of an office or a shop, quite a small chief. However, people feared him, tried to ingratiate themselves to him and glorified him: he was omnipotent in his own realm. But, just try to scream and curse now. You give orders, and people start proving to you that it is neither this nor that.

There is the social sciences teacher, whose candidate dissertation theme was: "Processes of the Class Struggle in the Countryside and the Dispossession of the Kulaks in the 1930s in Leningrad Oblast Documents." He defended it in 1950 and has been blowing the same horn ever since. He will uphold the cult as a justification of his own scientific work, his teaching and his entire life.

There is the chemical engineer who had written anonymous denunciations, was recently caught and kept her job anyhow. Not long ago she had terrorized everyone, but now everybody ignores her.

And here is an energetic young critic who has made a career for himself in dyed-in-the-wool Black-Hundred yellow journalism; he juggles the facts in order to vindicate Tvardovskiy-style supervisors.

There is the activist who is struggling, as though it had not been disclosed that in Brezhnev's time he had organized the construction of the combine which polluted the lake. Here is that same group of influential scientists who backed the design of hydro-electric equipment, profitable to the ministry and destructive to our North.

These people have arranged private residences for themselves and do not want to part with them, but they took apartments for their own children at the expense of families, who have already been on waiting lists for 20 (!) years.

None of them balk at defending the past order. Why should they be embarrassed or ashamed!

Once upon a time, social opinion existed in Russian life. It operated on all strata. In the village life of olden days it determined both economic decisions as well as the tenor of life, the requirements for a countryman's behavior. The merchants established their own ethics in their society, and the nobility had its own—in their court meetings, salons, the so-called high society. In Russian science, the mechanism of social opinion energetically took shape and manifested itself. Scientists developed their own requirements of decency and norms of behavior and propriety: this mechanism punished violators in its own way.

It was possible to punish cruelly, as in "*Anna Karenina*," or as in Ostrovskiy's plays. Whether it was just or unjust is another question: society had its own unwritten codes of honor which every member of society was obliged to observe.

They forbade their houses. They stopped receiving violators as guests. They did not shake hands.

Class social opinion developed moral criteria. Despite all of their prejudices, nevertheless they tried to raise moral standards.

Petr Leonidovich Kapitsa, a noted physicist of our time, thoroughly understood the significance of social opinion in science. He said that in order to have this, it was important to create a healthy, progressive scientific society. Society is precisely a particular environment, an area, a cauldron, in which social opinion is smelted. His famous Kapitsa-type seminars promoted the formation of a scientific society among physicists in practice. "This is more difficult than building great institutes," he remarked. "The creation of a healthy society includes the upbringing of the broadest strata of people involved in scientific work."

Social opinion does not require collusion; all it requires is an environment, a possibility of meeting together, exchanging opinions and discussing, as was once done in both rural gatherings and clubs. To meet freely with people, kindred in spirit, in views, in ideas...

Our great scientists succeeded in creating their own noteworthy schools—Lazarev, Ioffe, Kapitsa, Landau, N. Vavilov and several others. However, they did not manage to form a scientific society. It was destroyed during the Stalinist repressions via conditions of fear, ideological terror and Lysenkoism, which distorted the situation in many sciences. The lack of social opinion allowed careerism to blossom, and cases of faking data, appropriating the work of others and registering oneself as co-author began to appear. The race for titles and awards began. They were not shy about accepting them. The truly talented were pushed aside. The Academy was forced to elect such figures as Pospelov, Vyshinskiy, G.F. Aleksandrov, Ilichev and other similar "scientists" as members.

There was not enough social opinion, which would have protested, risen up in defense, decried impropriety and excommunicated the scientist who violated scientific ethical norms. Individual scientists, keepers of tradition, have tried to express their own personal convictions. They have even done this publicly, although it was very difficult and fraught with consequences. The majority have just not made up their minds. Acts of personal courage have been required in order to make a person realize that he has committed a base deed. A system of social opinion does this collectively, it forces this to be done: this is where its strength lies.

Today the discussion of propriety is vital, although it is difficult to hold one and the concepts of propriety have diverged. A person writes a dissertation for the director of an institute, yet nobody condemns him for this: everyone knows that he is trying to get an apartment and that there is no other way for him to move out of the communal apartment. A fisherman I know poaches in the Sviri; he is upset by the fact that he has to hide from the fishing inspector, while shoals of fish are dying by the station dam, the fishing boats are not working, no one is doing anything about the deaths of thousands of fish, "yet the inspector is after us." Some people were talking about one "pilferer" who had been caught in the lobby. He had pocketed a part for the carburetor of his car. There are none in the stores and they are expensive on the black market. His comrades were condemning him not because he had violated the law, but because he rather stupidly got caught.

The absurdity of mismanagement, wastefulness and bungling are confusing all criteria of honesty. In Leningrad entire blocks of buildings are being put up for thorough repairs. It is technologically more profitable that way. They are knocking out partitions and walls in succession... It used to be that this was done by hand, to save the fire-places, fire screens and doors, but now everything is being crumbled. It is sad to see the moldings, decorations and value perish. People have appeared who rob homes put up for repair. They drive away with the oven tiles, brass doorknobs, those same fire screens and any other valuable thing. Who are they? Thieves? Plunderers of public property? However, thank God that there are such plunderers, after all. I would like to welcome them, and I hate to think that a person is forced to commit a crime to do this. He is taking someone else's stuff, he is violating the law. But we sincerely forgive and defend him.

In February 1988 there was a fire in the USSR Academy of Sciences Library. It was tragedy which, one can say without exaggerating, befell not only domestic but also world culture. How did the library administration behave in the face of this? Instead of mobilizing all forces and funds in an effort to save that which could still be saved after the fire—books which had been charred or damaged by water and foam—instead of these measures, above all, they started working on disinformation, merely to diminish the extent of the catastrophe. They tried to prove that nothing terrible had happened, that "part of the Soviet period newspapers and some of the contemporary Soviet books" had suffered, i.e., they spoke as though the losses were easily replaceable. "We are ready to start work on the library tomorrow." Reassuring statements followed one after the other, if only to avoid alarming the authorities. We put on a light-hearted face and noted the heroism of the employees and the firemen: it was not the catastrophe that was important, but how notably they fought it.

It would be difficult to suppress this catastrophe today. It became known that 400,000 books had burned, including half of the world-famous Ber collection from the

18th-20th centuries. As D.S. Likhachev wrote, there are no more foreign books from the "Aptekarskiy Prikaz" library; a fourth of the unique newspaper collection, many issues of newspapers which no longer exist anywhere, and 3,020,000 books were damaged by water and moisture. Nevertheless, the administration persistently continued deceiving society. The press and journalists, not to mention the library employees, exposed this deceit. Yet the management was in no way ashamed of itself. The director was able imperturbably to declare at a meeting that the problem was not great, since these were books that no one ever asked for. Both the director and his deputy were publicly exposed as liars in the newspapers, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in particular. They called it disinformation, but it was the most ordinary of lies. What would an decent person do, if everyone told him, "you are a liar!" and then proved and exposed this? One ought to, as they used to say, burn with shame. Go into retirement. Cease showing one's face in public. Yet it is not so. They imperturbably continue to act and direct.

Near the back door of the library, I walked by heaps of wet ashes, mixed in with charred files and shreds of burnt pages. Young library workers, students who had been carrying the burnt remnants of newspaper files over to a neighboring building for a week already, had hung the papers on the birch trees to dry. Stacks were neatly laid out—newspapers waiting for their turn to dry. Volunteers were working, trying to save the newspaper collection, which the library had written off and thrown away. The young people stopped an excavator, when the administration tried to tidy up the "ugly traces" of the fire more rapidly. Incidentally, out of the debris that they rescued from the excavator's bucket, they dug out 250 whole books from the Ber collection. This is how decency conflicts with indecency. Small wonder that they were talking about the actions of their chiefs with disgusted grimaces:

"The deputy director of the library, Leonidov, went to Geneva right after the fire for 10 days."

"What for?"

They shrugged their shoulders: he was applying for the job of director of the United Nations library.

For the sake of what can one, at the height of such a mess, such a terrible catastrophe, just drop and abandon everything?

They looked at me in puzzlement, expressively, with bitter smiles, when I asked this. The motive for his behavior is obvious to all of them: what is the fire to him, when there is a possibility of going to Geneva, why care about the entire library... They thus interpret his behavior, but he had not even thought to explain it to them, to justify himself.

I suddenly recalled Kaysyn Kuliev, whose grief to this day weighs upon my heart. I remember how, at the end of the war, lying in the hospital, the wounded Kaysyn found out that his Balkar people had been forcibly relocated from the Cheremskiy Gorge to Kirgiziya. Having somehow recovered from his wound, in 1944 he left, on crutches, and Nikolay Tikhonov informed him that, after quite a fuss, he had managed by way of an exception to get permission for Kaysyn to live wherever he wanted, except Moscow and Leningrad. This was in consideration of Captain Kuliev's military service and the fact that he was already a famous poet. Kaysyn did not accept this exception, this privilege. He did not want to abandon his people in difficult times, and followed them to Kirgiziya.

In 1975 we flew to Frunze to see him. Kaysyn showed me where he lived, how he had gone to register himself, how he, deprived of civil rights, had then been mocked. He had doomed himself to this voluntarily. Not once did I ever hear him praise himself for this. His decency showed itself not only in his actions, but also in his relations...

If we look at the last decades, one thing stands out: above all, they have given us the "heroes" of stagnation. Glasnost has revealed an entire gallery of thieves, white-washers, masterly plunderers of the most diverse caliber, heroes of cynicism and duplicity, of underground business, of ecological robbery... Their names have become popular: Academician Zhavoronkov—the "hero" of Baikal, Voropayev—the "hero" of reversing rivers, the participants in the Rostov affair, "leaders" such as Bodyul, Kunayev and Medunov, and the "hero" of the Uzbek underground, Adylov.

From time to time stories of persistent fighters for the truth have appeared. High-ranking leaders are almost never found among them. Where are they, these true heroes? Who can we take as an example, who can we trust?... For some reason the honest, brave and idealistic heroes, who have been defeated, destroyed by the Administrative System, are being remembered all the more.

With some sort of incomprehensible, almost morbid persistence we keep turning to the past, to the years of the cult, the years of stagnation. What are we looking for there? Most likely, we primarily seek guarantees, ways to avoid repeating the past, some way to protect ourselves and our future children. We are looking for psychological, material and political guarantees.

I overheard the following statement in a discussion: instead of really changing life, they are looking for enemies who must be conquered.

Restoring decency means restoring exigency toward the law, toward truth. There should be censure, both legal and social. We cannot live together with villains and informers, hug them and shake their hands. Decency means intolerance and contempt for dishonesty, baseness and immorality, even if we have to name names.

This would be good medicine for the moral rebirth of society. It is obvious today that our indiscriminating tolerance is inspiring the enemy and discouraging our allies. In Chimkent, former oblast leaders, led by the obkom first secretary, were arrested. They had involved over 400,000 people in criminal activities and had stolen 25 million rubles. Yet, after several months (in April 1988) the party aktiv revealed that the number of official and other crimes in Chimkent had not declined, but had increased.

Most likely, exposing these people entails dethroning the carriers of socially evil deformities. Discrediting them requires proof, it requires a public display of the wretchedness, the insignificance of the inner nature of these degenerates.

Today, the offspring of the period of stagnation, which itself was logically created by Stalinism, are joining forces with the defenders of Stalinism. Using Stalin, they are attacking restructuring, bringing corruption and accidents into it, since all such things are now being published. They are not only applying the brakes, they are trying to reverse the course entirely. After all, nothing is threatening them. It is not enough to condemn Stalin and Stalinism. Evidently, they must be judged by all the laws of rights and ethics. You might tell me that a writer's work is not to accuse, not to prosecute, but to speak out in favor of the guilty one, once he has been convicted and is suffering his punishment. However, today he suffers nothing, which seems like the most tormenting social injustice.

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Editor Ivanov Criticizes Writers' 'Simplification' of Stalin Era

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[Interview with writer Anatoliy Ivanov by critic Valentin Svininnikov, time and place not given: "The Black Bread of Art"]

[Excerpts] The writer Anatoliy Stepanovich Ivanov, Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of the USSR and RSFSR State Prizes and other literary prizes, secretary of the board of the USSR Communist Party, and editor-in-chief of the journal MOLODAYA GVARDIYA is 60 years old... His books are truly nationally famous; memorable television series have been based on his novels, "Shadows Disappear at Noon" and "Eternal Summons." The popularity of his work long ago transcended the boundaries of our nation. ... I remember once, while I was abroad on a professional trip, I was astonished to see the streets of Belgrad, usually crowded and noisy in the evenings, suddenly empty. "They're all rushing home to their television sets," explained a friend, who, as a member of a trade delegation, had been living there for several years, "to see 'Shadows Disappear at Noon.'" Could this be happening in Yugoslavia, where there are plenty of the "freest" Western, mainly American, films;

where it would seem so easy to tune to an Italian or other Western television program? "The people have grown hungry for realism, just like for black bread—after you've been eating fancy pastry," smiled my companion, seeing my bewilderment.

The black bread of art—what could that be? The truth? But what truth? About the millions and for the millions, or about the "upper" ten thousands and for them alone? And if not about the "exploiters," at least about the directors, the "administrators"? Suddenly, during the last 18 months or 2 years the journals, and now the publishing houses too, have thrown out into the literary marketplace a wave of "new works" which for decades had lain around on writing tables or, like "Dr. Zhivago," were previously published in largish editions, but only in the so-called "free world." What is this? A new truth? Whose? And, even granted that we fully understand that past errors must be eliminated and "blank spots" on the literary map filled in, why [does this mean] that criteria suddenly have to be altered so radically that the truth of those who stood at the side of the road, and at times on the other side of the barricades, appears to be crowding out even the truth of those who fought and suffered alongside the builders of history's first workers' and peasants' state? Does perestroika replace the class approach to ideology, including literature? Or does the fact that first priority must be given to common human values in problems such as that of war and peace, which now poses the question of whether life on Earth will survive, really imply that, when it comes to other issues, we should lump together the interests of a bunch of money-bags and those of the millions of workers and peasants who feed and support them. Perhaps, there really is no need to stress these points. Could it be that the involuntary inclination toward publishing the works of "returnees" is a temporary thing (although in the year of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution this is singularly inappropriate). Is it possible that no one is really attempting to undermine the major attainments won by Soviet literature, her acknowledged beacons and landmarks?

On this disturbing note, our conversation with Anatoliy Stepanovich began.

[Answer] However, this used to be easier to defend... Now, I repeat, they are proposing a massive reassessment of values. Who do we hear about these days? Gumilev, Mandelshtam, Nabokov, Pasternak... Mayakovskiy has been pushed into the background in the minds of the readers, particularly, young readers, and I would not be surprised if his "overthrow" were not about to begin. Ye. Yevtushenko treats the work of Yesenin very idiosyncratically in OGONEK. Has it been so long since this true poet of the people, who was persecuted during his lifetime, slandered and libelled, was returned to his readers (and without the brouhaha such returns cause nowadays)? And now once again, due to the sensational "resurrection" of various sundry "extinguished flames," the picture of the development of Soviet literature has been so reshaped that a worthy place cannot be found for him. For the time being they

are not branding him, but they have already ceased to note him. Sholokhov was pursued by slander all his life. Now again an article in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI proposes he be "reassessed." The powerful literature created during the early years of socialist construction, represented by such names as Fedor Gladkov, Leonid Leonov, Aleksandr Malyshkin, Leonid Sobolev, Marietta Saginyan, Fedor Panferov, they try to forget. Everything is overshadowed by the wave of "returnees." And yet, if you think about it, who knows how long their current sensational popularity will last?

How life repeats itself, even when it takes unforeseeable turns! Was it that long ago that the conflict between the fathers and the sons was being exaggerated in drama-turgy and Rosovski's lad from the play "In Search of Happiness" took a sword to the symbol of bourgeois vulgarity—fashionable furniture... Was it that long ago that the journal YUNOST, with its circulation of millions, deluged our youth with stories by V. Aksenov, A. Gladilin, A. Kuznetsov and other "masters of the minds of a generation," the heroes of which, infantile "star seekers" wandered the world searching for "who knows what," and endlessly reinterpreting their petty experiences. And this also seemed to the critics to be a new word, a "rebellion" against reality, a defense of new values. I would not be surprised if soon they (perhaps the very same people) begin to rehabilitate those who have not yet returned. And perhaps they will try to portray them as warriors for today's restructuring, who suffered during the "period of stagnation."

These days you hear all sorts of arrogant voices speaking, for example, about rock, a modern variant of spiritual drug addiction, or generally about "youth culture." They say that youth should be given the opportunity to make their own judgments freely about everything, and to come to their own understanding of what's what. And they go even further, saying that youth is the most revolutionary portion of society. Here they include a quote from Engels, which Lenin liked to cite: "we are the party of innovators, and young people are the most willing to follow innovators," etc. And all this is true, but we must not forget Lenin's caution that we must not flatter youth nor flirt with it. We must also not forget Marx' precept that in order to make the right judgments about literature and art you must be a culturally educated person. Of course, it is easier to "come to an understanding of what's what" when you are dealing with primitive songs where all that is required to grasp the "meaning" is a vocabulary of 100 words in any language and melodic richness is replaced by rabid rhythm and scarcely tolerable decibels of sound. You don't need any training, and can show off in front of your equally "cultured" contemporaries by knowing the names of fashionable groups or stars, which flare up and extinguish extraordinarily rapidly, as always occurs in mass culture, allowing "room" for constant training in "eruditeness."

[Answer] Real art is an appeal to the humane in human beings; it is creation and not destruction.

This is also true of literature. Reading and rereading Tolstoy's "War and Peace" is not only entertainment, but spiritual labor as well. Deep understanding of Sholokhov's "And Quiet Flows the Don" can only be attained by those who are "culturally educated," in spite of the fact that millions read and love it and indeed it was written for the people. And yet in "Children of the Arbat" everything is clear at once. A personality as complex as Stalin's (the real Stalin, not the one who was thought up during the years of the personality cult or today) can encompass white hot passions and actions on a scale worthy of Shakespeare, and yet the author "understands" him at a level scarcely more complicated than that attained by rock fans. What sort of artistic merit is there in the fact that the author in a Siberian village has experienced the mores of the Arbat (and not even all of them); what sort of vital truth is there in succeeding in being the first to express oneself on a theme in which public interest has been heated to the boiling point or in succeeding in giving information that, although far from being reliable, is one's one... Or again on the theme of the role of personality, how attractive young people must find the inner freedom of the hero of Granin's "Zubr," his magnificent disdain of all the conventions, his tragic fate, powerful intellect, and idiosyncratic understanding of the right of moral choice... Another enchanting person can be found on the pages of the story by Timofeyev-Resovskiy (the author emphasizes more than once that his work is documentary). But the author has inconspicuously ignored issues which are extremely important to anyone who is not indifferent to the fate of the Fatherland. How could it happen that he a Russian, a Soviet scientist lived and worked in Nazi Germany during the period when the Fatherland ran with blood from the struggle against this monstrosity? Moral compromise? The author attempts to present the matter as if all this was not important to Zubr, since his primary concern was science, and he was able to help some victims of Fascism virtually under the noses of the Nazis. But after all documents exist, publications in scientific journals of those years, with Timofeyev-Resovskiy as co-author, which deal with experiments performed on people. Not inoffensive experiments. Here is freedom of moral choice for you! Perhaps, the author did not know about this? Or did not attach any significance to it? How can one describe the fate of an uncommon person and yet talk about his life's work so superficially, casually, leaving things unsaid? What is this? At any rate, such books are terribly far from consideration of the fate of the people. Perhaps, such books are holdovers from the times when literature, in spite of itself, was intended only for the elite?

And yet many see the essence of restructuring in literature as virtually amounting to the printing of just such "truths," of circulating millions of copies of works that, perhaps, are not of the highest artistic merit, but, nonetheless, are "topical" ... Of course, perestroyka and glasnost are needed. There is just one thing I find disturbing: is this an elemental process? Haven't there been cases in history, including the history of socialist

countries, where when the party drops control of such processes, the forces of destruction rage.

And now in our literature we are almost at the point of a civil war. In my opinion, the attack is being waged not only against this or that authority, but against the positions which support them, the traditions which they have upheld and developed. Intentionally or unintentionally, the focus now is on negative phenomena, heroes painted exclusively in dark colors. If a character is a director then he is either an obtuse petty tyrant or a swindler, if he is a worker then he is either a drunkard or a "pilferer." Has a different truth come into fashion, or what? Georgiy Mokeyevich Markov told me that at the "Lenfilm" studio, where they were planning to make a film based on "The Next Century," they proposed to him that he darken and abase the character of Sobolev. Making the hero negative was considered a way of "bringing him to life." The logic is simple but where will such perestroika lead? Social morality should not be relaxed endlessly, but strengthened. This cannot be achieved through the negative alone. Perestroika is not directed against our social system.

I understand that they won't thank me for such views. Some people will create an image of Anatoliy Ivanov as virtually an adherent of "cult thinking." Indeed, Shukrullo, national poet of Uzbekistan, actually asks in OGO-NEK "...how the unmerited suffering of the great Russian scholar Vavilov, the ordeal of Korolev, the deaths of a number of military leaders and writers can fail to awaken Ivanov's sympathy." It's not too bad a question.

[Question] How can they ask you that, Anatoliy Stepanovich, you whose "Eternal Summons" was published in the very beginning of the "period of stagnation" (volume 1 in 1970; volume 2 in 1976)? And who is Ivan, one of the Savelyev brothers, if not a victim of the personality cult? Even if it was not Stalin or Yezhov who was directly responsible for the tragic turn his fate took. The guilt lay with the feeling of mistrust, and suspicion of everyone and everything. But it is a misfortune that a hero such as yours is not acceptable to the "new wave." He did not become embittered, did not betray his country, did not seek the Promised Land, nor did he become an enemy of socialism. He had nothing to repent, nor did he need to be rehabilitated in the eyes of society, like Zubr. You were one of the first to talk about the cult and its victims. And isn't "iron" Yakov Aleynikov one of the victims of the cult? An honorable, committed party member, who does harm, sincerely believing that this benefits his people and state. This is where the drama lies. For some reason today's "daredevils" fail to notice this commonplace, everyday daring in a writer.

[Answer] I recall that because of Ivan Savayev and Yakov Aleynikov they held up the screening of the second half of the television series...

[Question] They fail to notice the daring of V. Belov in "Eves," the daring of M. Alekseyev in "The Scrappers," where it first was said that the famine of 1933 was far from being a natural disaster. And after all, the number of victims of the period of collectivization and famine was ten times that of the period between 1937-1938. They fail to notice the daring of A. Znamenskiy, whose novel "Red Days" was recently published by the Krasnodarsk publishing house. Perhaps, this is because Anatoliy Znamenskiy directly named those who were responsible for the virtually total annihilation of the Cossacks, who prevented the obvious talent of the commander of Army 2, Filipp Mironov, from developing—named Trotsky and those around him. And after all Mironov dreamed—and could have achieved this dream—of starting a civil war on the Don by the spring sowing season of 1919...

[Answer] Yes, one gets the impression that for many today "daring" lies elsewhere—in the furious and limitless, to the extent allowed, "unmasking" of Stalin. Indeed a new Stalin cult is being created, this time one with a minus sign. How is it that people do not realize that in such an enormous and tumultuous revolutionary whirlwind, one man alone can do nothing, even if he is an absolute autocrat? But... the more graphically the figure of the despot and tyrant is portrayed, the more those who surrounded him fade into the shadow. For example, what was Yakovlev, the People's Commissar of Agriculture, directly responsible for collectivization, like. Or his deputy in 1929-1930 Yezhov? What sort of a man was Kaganovich, whose plan for the gradual destruction of the historical center of Moscow is also attributed to Stalin. Who was this Kaganovich, who for many years was, in essence, the second most important person in the party? A multitude of questions arise. Rehabilitation of a number of prominent party and Soviet figures from previous criminal accusations is perceived by many as virtually an acknowledgement of their complete innocence before the party and the people. It is as if there never was a furious struggle with the opposition, both during Lenin's lifetime and after his death... The selective publications of N.I. Bukharina represent him as an innocent victim. But, perhaps, for the sake of justice it would be wise to publish those of his articles, speeches, and reports where, allying himself first with the "lefts" and then with the "rights," he acted in opposition to Lenin, in opposition to the party line? Why should one half truth be replaced by another?

The questions of class struggle after a revolution in any nation must not be oversimplified. Experience in virtually all socialist nations teaches us that the overthrown classes always attempt to get revenge. Remember what happened in GDR (1953), Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Poland (early 80s). The pretexts were different, but the underlying causes were similar. Can we say that our country, especially while taking the first steps [toward socialism] was insured against something similar. This would be naive. The former masters of life made use of the slightest opportunity to shake loose the

ties binding the new order. After all far from all of them emigrated or perished in the fire of the civil war. Those who remained, like it or not, (after all the country needed educated people, specialists) permeated all the pores of the social organisms, especially, at the managerial level. What do you think, would they resist the temptation to use the slightest error in the unprecedentedly difficult construction to kindle the dissatisfaction of the masses? They could do this without harming themselves; all they needed to do was give the enthusiasts a little push—under appealing banners—toward overworking expensive equipment, or r-r?? revolutionary transformations of nature, creating wastelands, but not right away....

But I want to talk about what I myself witnessed. I was still working in Novosibirsk for the journal SIBIRSKIYE OGNI. I went to see an old friend at the "Barlaksiy" sovkhos, the former head of the Moshkovskiy rayon was the director there, and I at one time had edited the rayon newspaper. I went to see him in order to candidly and openly talk about life, about whatever problems were on my mind. Undoubtedly, every self-respecting journalist and writer has this need. While I was there, I more than once noticed a fugitive but tenacious, searching look trained on me and I saw a middle-aged, undistinguished little fellow sitting and looking at me. When our eyes met, he lowered his gaze. At that time my novel "Bindweed" had just been published. I asked the director who this fellow was and why he was acting so strangely.

He seems to be an all right fellow—diligent, sober, only very reserved, never talks to anyone. Our bookkeeper.

It turned out that he was the nephew of the person who had previously owned the land on which the sovkhos had been built. That fellow had disappeared somewhere, but this one sat and calculated the return on the land, which might have belonged to him as the heir. Undoubtedly, he had read "Bindweed" and was curious about the man who told the story of the the Borodins, solid landowners, whom the revolution deprived of their riches. No doubt this bookkeeper had something of his own to remember. He worked, benefited the state. But what was in his soul, what could be in his soul? If you were to give him just the smallest opportunity to bring back the past, what would he do? No, history is a nonlinear process. And in their "running of the gauntlet" one person might, although perhaps not immediately, accept the truth of the new order, while another, would oppose it with all his strength. All of the negative heroes of my novels had many prototypes.

Thus, why oversimplify, and take to the other extreme, such a complex time, such a complex person, as Stalin. And when they expunge all that he did during those years, why do they also want to expunge all that was done during those same years by the nation, by its true masters—the workers and peasants.

But I would like to return to the discussion of books, the heroes of who are truly the salt of the earth and not fruitless dreamers or abstract humanists proclaiming

their love for all—absolutely for all at once—humanity, but unable to do even the tiniest good deed or those who are closest to them. No, these heroes are true toilers who know how to do real deeds, rather than simply talking about deeds, who seem to be able through their own efforts to turn the most improbable dreams into reality. For example, is there anything outmoded about V. Kochetov's novel "The Zhurbin's" about a working dynasty of shipbuilders? Matvey Zhurbin with his solid, honest and courageous outlook on life—I can see him now right before my eyes. But V. Kochetov is remembered now, only in order to kick a dead horse. No one even thinks of reprinting his books. Undoubtedly, these days you will find a mention of "The Tanker 'Derbent'" by Yu. Krinov only in textbooks and readers. We are lucky that "Cement" by F. Gladkov is still remembered, if only in its television version. Yet, these are book our young people really ought to read. Leonov's "Honeycomb" and "The Road to the Ocean," Panferov's "Whetstones," and Malyshevskiy's novel "People from the Sticks" should be reprinted again and again.

[Question] In your opinion which recent books give us a good feel for the new trends breaking through in literature?

[Answer] I am not going to cite the much-talked-about "White Garments" by M. Dudintsev, "New Assignment" by A. Bek, or A. Pristavkin's story "A Golden Cloud Spent the Night." In my opinion, they, like "Zubi" and "Children of the Arbat," were created to take advantage of the "hottest topics" of the day and, all in all, are far from great literature, with its genuine reflections of the pain and sorrows of the people. V. Rasputin's "Fire" and V. Astashev's "The Sad Detective" are another matter entirely. These works, in spite of their topicality, possess a humanitarian populist worldview and an artistic level worthy of the masters.

However, I would like to direct your attention to several books which have not yet been discovered by the critics. Thus, at the same time "Fire" came out, SEVER published Vitaliy Maslov's novel "Domestic Market." This work deals with our socialist history. The chimney of the timber mill, around which the action of the novel revolves, bears the date of its construction—1928. The very first of our 5-year plans... The writer observes meticulously what is going on with his heroes, why their souls are corroded by drunkenness and indifference. After all how could they work well, when we are talking about export; why should work for the "internal market" be of poorer quality? How will their children, still in school at the time of the action, live when there is nothing to believe in? Why does their teacher suffer so when he instructs them in history?

The novel by young Sergey Alekseyev, "Swarm," is still awaiting a careful critical reading. This work is the totally realistic history of a town in Vyatsk, which at the beginning of the century "swarmed" from its native location and relocating in Siberia. The author uses this history to elucidate the entire history of the Russian

peasantry during the 70 years of Soviet power. On the other hand, this is a complex, multilevel work with a philosophical subtext and distinctive symbols: a bear, embodying the psychology of the solitary animal; bees as the embodiment of collective, natural phenomenon; and finally, human society as rational collectivism. But it turns out that there is still something to be learned from the bees. For example, honeydew is destructive to them. Getting something for nothing is alien to them; they were born for a life of labor. But, will humanity, and in particular our society, pass the test of satiation?

I think that when the critical "dust" begins to settle around V. Belov's novel "Everything is Ahead of Us," the reader will be able to appreciate without prejudice the true depth and multiple meanings of this very timely work, which is permeated with an enormous concern primarily for the fate of our children. The issue, of course, is not that they are in danger of being carried off to Arkansas, that is not a fate that threatens everyone. What is frightening is something else: the possibility that the new "pied pipers of Hamelin," playing their whistles of "mass culture," will lead them to a world without soul and without morality. No, V. Belov is no "mysogynist." Perhaps, his justifiable anxiety is caused by women just like sterile Natalya, destroying herself, her husband and the children she could have had... Of course, the author is not against "progress," even if his Medvedev is in no hurry to return to the institute. It is important that Medvedev is portrayed as a human being. For this it is not necessary to be a Ph.D. The novel makes us think and argue about what lies ahead.

By the way, on the subject of progress: it is a good thing that among our ecstatic hymns to science, which is supposed to solve all the problems of contemporary humanity, as well as among our gloomy predictions that it will destroy us in the next few years, there are also sober ironic voices like, for example, those in the novel "Hunt on a Game Preserve" by Vitautas Martinkus, published in 1986 in SOVETSKIY PISATEL. This novel can satisfy even the most demanding "intellectual," and is saturated, so to speak, with a great deal of information, and yet at the same time it speaks of things that are simple and comprehensible to all, love and the yearning for family warmth, the search of something stable, reliable, not only pragmatic and utilitarian, but at the level of the philosophical search for the meaning of life.

The main heroine is a receptionist of the general director of a textile combine. A former weaver, at the end of the novel Mariya Rudayten for a number of reasons returns to the loom, to an experimental work brigade, in order to prove through her own experience that sociology, with which here lover Spin Kavolyus is infatuated, is a useful but insidious tool. With the help of sociology much may be accomplished to increase labor productivity; however, much may be lost, primarily that for which production is being improved—to improve and truly liberate humanity. This novel points out possible routes which may be taken in the search for perestroika of thought, as

well as possible roadblocks on these routes. The "human factor" must be stimulated very carefully and humanly. Life is more complex and simpler than any science. And in life what is most valuable is human beings...

Of the books dealing with collectivization, of course, the new chapters of Belov's "Eves" published in NOVYY MIR, Book II OF B. Mozhayev's "Peasants and Their Women," which was published in a separate edition after it appeared in the journal DON, stand out. But I hope the unnoticed novel of the young writer N. Neskromnyy, "Turning Point," which appeared in SEVER will not be lost from view.

Of course, my selections are somewhat arbitrary and subjective. Without a doubt, someone else would choose different works. And no one can keep up with all the new works. But [of one thing] I am certain: only those books in which the people's voice can be heard are destined for long lives...

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ZNAMYA Readers Sound Off On Controversial Shatrov Play

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[Letters from ZNAMYA readers: "Readers Comment on Play by M. Shatrov, 'Farther...Farther...Farther!'" First three paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] This selection presents letters from the extensive mail received by the editors in response to the publication of the play by M. Shatrov entitled "Farther...Farther...Farther!" (ZNAMYA No 1, 1988). At the time this issue was signed to press, the editorial staff had received 298 responses: comments, analyses, and discussion articles. What is interesting about these letters, in our opinion? It is the geography of their origin. The letters came (and continue to come in) from all parts of the country. They came from people of all ages and professions. They are interesting in their serious and often deep approach to history and to the reality of the present day. They are interesting in their faith in the ideals of October, in the future of socialism, and in the fate of perestroika. Finally, they are interesting in that they express different points of view about the play and those evaluations of it which appeared in the press.

One thing is depressing. As in the case of the poem by A. Tvardovskiy entitled "By Right of Memory," the authors of the negative comments often do not sign their name or address, or often both. Sometimes they forward to us the complaints made to various institutions, letters in which they demand that the authoritative institutions make answerable both M. Shatrov and the editorial staff of the journal. No doubt, one can write to whomever one wants, up to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and

the Procurator's Office. However, it would be more reasonable to discuss the literary work on the pages of the press. If we are to have glasnost, then let us have it. Let us be mutually polite, without excluding such a courtesy as an exchange of opinions (specifically an exchange of opinions, and not complaints and "signals") and without hiding our true names and real addresses.

In publishing part of the letters which we received, we have presented opinions "pro" and "con" in the same ratio which was characteristic for the mail received about the play. The letters are published in abridged version, as dictated by the shortage of space.

Dear Comrades!

A big thank you for the play "Farther...Farther...Farther!" The play really brings one closer to a true understanding of the greatness and humanity of V. I. Lenin and the humanistic creativity of his ideas. One gets the desire to awaken, in order to go farther...farther...

After reading the play, I went for the first time to the Museum of the October Revolution and the branch of the V. I. Lenin Museum. I decided to join the Miloserdie Society.

A. Alekseyev, worker at the Kirov Plant, 27 years old.
Leningrad

Dear Editors!

Thank you very much for publishing the play by M. Shatrov entitled "Farther...Farther...Farther!" I read it with great agitation. Undoubtedly, attacks and accusations will be leveled against you and M. Shatrov by representatives of the mechanism of inhibition, although they make themselves out to be the guard of socialism. The living Leninist spirit of openness and truth which is present on the pages of this play goes against their grain. If they could, they would ban even Lenin, but for the time being they attack those people who want to resurrect the ideals of October and the Leninist concept of socialism.

I would like you and M. Shatrov to know that honest people who value truth and justice are thankful to you for your activity, which reinforces their belief in the irreversibility of the revolutionary reorganization of our society.

I wish you the very best.

D. Raspopin
Irkutsk

P.S. A few words about myself: I am 31 years old, a member of the CPSU since 1985, and I work in the militia.

A Little Farther...A Little Farther...

M. Shatrov's play, "Farther...Farther...Farther!" responds to the acute social need for interpreting the past and understanding where we are coming from and where we are going. We must applaud this new experience in the artistic and at the same time historically-based interpretation of the "sore points" of our society's history, particularly since most of the professional historians are still marching in place, waiting for something, and limiting themselves to general declarations. But, as we might expect, the departure from the moss-covered stereotypes evokes a painful reaction in those who do not want to change anything. Specifically, these are the people who are well suited by the customary "super-objectivistic" schemes of the historical process, which seems to be moved by anonymous forces indifferent to specific, real people and their active role in this process. It is exactly this impression that we get from the comments by V. Glagolev, "Artistic History and Historical Fates" regarding M. Shatrov's play. "Only on the stage," he writes, "if we change the 'hero,' life will take a different course." As it turns out, in real history nothing depends on the "heroes," and the fact that Stalin acted as such a "hero" had no significance for the fate of socialism. As a confirmation of his version, V. Glagolev refers to—whom do you think?—to August Kont, in whom he sees such an approach to history which, in his opinion, M. Shatrov lacks. "We might add," writes V. Glagolev, "that even the founder of positivism August Kont justly criticized 'historians' who did not have the capacity for scientific analysis of reality." V. Glagolev points out that, according to Kont, the laws of history are similar to the laws of astronomy, and if a historian does not understand their irrefutability, similar to the irrefutability of the motion of the heavenly bodies, then he has no right to evaluate historical events. "But if," exclaims our author, "during the times of A. Kont we could still imagine such historians, the repetition of such errors in the present day would simply be a mockery of historical science." And this is categorically issued as the irrefutable truth, the departure from which is charged against Shatrov as a delusion which is unthinkable in our day. Isn't it a paradox that the teachings of V. Glagolev addressed at a dramatist having pretensions at a Marxist interpretation of history are substantiated by the philosophy of Kont? Here we would like to follow the example of the author in inserting the words "by the way." By the way, is V. Glagolev aware of the fact that Kont wrote a long letter to Emperor Nicholas I after the defeat of the Decembrist uprising? In this letter, he assured Nicholas I that his "positive philosophy and politics have the same character and the same tasks as the unlimited monarchy," since he, Kont, "from the very beginning fought against the supreme power of the people and equality...just as the Emperor at almost the same time, specifically from 1825, never ceased to stand appropriately at the head of the humanistic movement in his expansive state."

"The main factor of history is always the people," writes V. Glagolev. But how does he interpret this indisputable thesis? According to Glagolev, it turns out that since "heroes" can play their role only in the imagination of the author or on the stage, then the responsibility for all the tragic deformations of socialism lies with the people. They—the people—put themselves into the Kolyma camps, destroyed the Leninist guard, chopped off the heads of the outstanding military leaders before the war, organized the Lysenkov persecutions, etc. And after all this, what are the appeals of V. Glagolev "to honesty...on the basis of a true knowledge of the laws of historical development" really worth? The version about the anonymity of the course of the historical process removes the responsibility from specific leaders. "Super-objectivity" is a smokescreen of the bureaucratic system, a justification of irresponsibility and evil doing. Farther...let us go farther from such "theorizing"!

D. I. Dubrovskiy, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor

M. G. Yaroshevskiy, doctor of psychological sciences, professor
Moscow

...

Where is your party responsibility, your civic honor and quite simply your human dignity, if you could present your journal for the publication of the banality, anti-Sovietism, and political filth of Shatrov and his ilk? Whose banner have you seized up? Whose mouthpiece have you become? How will you look people, and your own children, in the face?

N. A. Sokolova
Kiev

...

Greetings, respected ZNAMYA editors!

I read with great interest the play by M. Shatrov, "Farther...Farther...Farther!" published in the first issue for 1988. It was well written! There he is, our Lenin, our Ilyich, alive in his struggle, which continues even to this day.

Up until recently the situation was such that numerous bureaucrat-social scientists who, of course, felt support on the part of influential people, believed they had the right to judge what is Marxism and what is not. These bureaucrats did not need the living Lenin as Shatrov tries to depict him to the readers, to the audience and to society. He was not useful to them. He undermined their calm and uniform life lived for their own good, but not for the good of society. Yes, they had no need for the Lenin from the "Features to a portrait..." or from the "Brest peace." And, thanks to them we were not able to see him at that time. But how could it happen that a group of people, for the sake of their own personal

interests, had the right to decide for all of us what we should see and read, and what we should not? How could it happen that, although the leadership at that time preached democracy to us, it was far from being within the power of the people to decide whether many artistic works were to be or not to be? This was not the kind of democracy that Lenin dreamed about, and this is not the kind of democracy we want.

Our perestroika is just beginning to cut its teeth. A stubborn struggle lies ahead. There is no turning back for us. If we cannot achieve it now, later it will be a hundred times harder. After all, how many times will the people's faith in justice be undermined? Many who are now taking the position of observers will sooner or later have to make a choice. Shatrov's play "Farther..." will to a significant degree facilitate their making this choice sooner. Thanks to your journal for having the courage and decency to publish it.

If a work is drab, artificial, lifeless, written to please oneself or someone else but not reflecting the real state of affairs, if it is far from the truth, it will be forgotten, and no one will give it a second thought. If, however, a work touches upon the actual, real interests of the people, it will live, and the people will determine what they need and whom they, the people, should follow. This play must be published in a larger edition, and people must read it.

A. Slavkin
Moscow

...

"We would like very much for Stalin to leave. But as yet he is still on stage..." This final accord of the play reflects its current nature for the epoch of perestroika, glasnost and democratization. As long as Stalin is present on the historical stage, as long as his heirs are alive, success and progress along the path of renewing our society will be very difficult. The forces of stagnation and inertia will fiercely resist the forces of the new thinking, the forces of reorganization of consciousness and psychology.

Valeriy Valeryevich Pochevko, candidate in philosophical sciences, instructor in scientific communism.
Leningrad

...

Dear Comrade Baklanov!

Today I received the first issue of your journal. I read M. Shatrov's play all in one sitting and, despite the late hour, was able to call my friend and pass on the journal to him. I believe that EVERYONE should see and hear this play. I understand that this is beyond your jurisdiction, but as a reader, as a communist, and simply as a citizen, I ask you to contact the State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting with a proposal to

immediately televise this play. I have been a party member since 1969 and only about 2 years ago I began to understand why I carry the party card. I, a member of Lenin's party, did not know how Lenin perceived the development of society after the revolution. The influence of the "gaps" in party history is too great. It leads to the situation where people who have grown up many years after the death of Stalin literally deify him. From here come the common expressions, "Stalin is not here to get after you," "He didn't imprison enough people," etc., etc. For many, Stalin, as before, is equated with Victory, with reduction of prices, and mainly with cheap and quite easily accessible vodka and wine... The process of destalinization must be progressive. Despite the increased interest in the periodical press, television remains the primary source of information and ideological influence. Therefore, I am writing to you with a rather uncommon request. I apologize ahead of time for creating an additional problem. But since it serves the common cause, I don't think that it will be too burdensome.

Respectfully yours,
Yuriy Nikolayevich Muromskiy, worker
Donetsk

...

"It's In The Bag"

The play by M. Shatrov, "Farther...Farther...Farther!", created quite a stir in various circles of the reading public. However, it was not to the liking of certain historians. In their opinion, the honor of historical science was insulted. And so, the most irritated professional historians defend their "historical lot" against the dramatist M. Shatrov. The review by Doctors of Historical Sciences V.V. Gorbunov and V. V. Zhuravlev entitled "What Do We Want To See In the Mirror of Revolution?" is rather notable in this respect. The content of the review and the methods and means of criticism which it uses can hardly correspond to the title of their "reflections."

In this review we see that the certified historians, in accordance with the ritual of dual of honor, offer a polite bow to their "rival," admitting that he has talent and that he, M. Shatrov, bases his works on specific historical material and on a maximal approximation to the facts and events of history. At the same time, the dramatist, in their opinion, is trying to be clever, "convincing us that the main thing is to find acute conflict in the stream of events, and then the matter is in the bag..." What bag is the matter in? Let us try to find out.

The historians accuse M. Shatrov of not knowing the "cornerstone theses" of Marxism. However, Marxism is not a dogma and cannot be reduced to "cornerstone theses" which can be manipulated, as our reviewers demonstrate.

The first cornerstone thrown at the play's author is that M. Shatrov makes absolute the subjective factor in history. Then, he openly speaks ironically about the "cornerstone thesis of Marxist historians regarding the decisive role of the popular masses in society." "Thinking" authors are not disturbed by the well-known circumstance that even 100 years ago F. Engels called upon the future Marxist historians to pay greater attention to the specific development of the subjective factor. They are also aware of the well-known letter written by V. I. Lenin to V. M. Molotov, dated 26 March 1922. In it, the subjective factor is revealed in a specific-historical manner as follows: "If we do not close our eyes to reality, then we must admit that at the present time the party's proletarian policy is defined not by its make-up, but by the great, undivided authority of that very thin strata which may be called the party old guard. It is enough to have slight internal conflict in this strata, and its authority will be, if not undermined, at least weakened to such a point that a decision will no longer depend on it" (Collected Works, Vol 45, p 20). It was V. I. Lenin's serious concern for the fate of the party and the fate of socialism that prompted him to write his "Letters to the Congress." In his play, M. Shatrov, guided by Lenin's approach, depicts the role of the subjective factor in the course of the revolution and the building of socialism.

The second cornerstone: the dramatist interprets the content of the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" in a "linear" fashion. M. Shatrov believes, they say, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most unlimited and broadest form of democracy, that socialism without political freedom is not socialism. The reviewers equate R. Luxemburg's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the position taken by the play's author. At the same time, they "cleverly" forget to cite the Leninist sayings regarding the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is power through the workers and a merciless struggle against the bureaucratic distortions of the worker's state. If we examine the play's content as a whole, we will see that M. Shatrov interprets the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a form of self-organization of the working masses.

Our diploma-holding historians evidently prefer the interpretation of dictatorship of the proletariat as being power for the workers. Otherwise, they could hardly give a "historical" justification of the regime of personal power. "Can we, in light of the historical facts," they write, "seriously believe that the shadow of the personality cult, with all the perniciousness and tragedy of its manifestations, totally overshadowed the classes and other social forces of our order with their ideals, their real social interests and their aspirations?" And it even turns out that the regimen of personal power was certainly not a destruction of democratism, but was rather its affirmation! They got so carried away with their manipulation of the formula for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" that they lost track of the present day, remaining at the level of the ideals, interests and aspirations of the 70's. Wait a minute!

The third cornerstone was the accusation aimed at M. Shatrov that the dramatist has lost sight of the historical role of the party. If we read the play through the "historical glasses" of the Short Course in History of the VKP(b), it really is difficult to see the basic pathos of the play: the affirmation of the high moral-historical role of the party in the life of our people through negation and overcoming the rejection of the Leninist principles of the party's ties with the popular masses.

"You won't get far on formulas in historical science," said K. Marx. "Thinking" historians, having come to believe in the all-shattering power of the "cornerstone theses," try to squeeze history into the Procrustean bed of simplified schemes. M. Shatrov, unlike such historians, and following K. Marx, uses artistic means to study history, depicting people "as leading personages and authors of their own history."

In his time, K. Marx, in his characteristically euphoristic manner, wrote the following words regarding the mechanism of the vulgar-eclectic method of historical analysis: "While an Englishman turns people into hats, a German turns hats into ideas." The "reasoning" of these historians is nothing other than the creative application of this method: to see in real history only the effect of universal formulas, "cornerstone theses," i.e., hats. And then, manipulating them, to brand M. Shatrov with the following idea-labels: "historical nihilist," defender of the "concept of the rebirth of the Soviet state," etc.

The development and expansion of democracy and glasnost inevitably leads to a decline in the demand for hats. The growth of political self-consciousness of the workers leads to a decline in hat production. As concerns the "hat matters of the masters," their fate as reflected in the revolution was very well expressed by V. I. Lenin, who said: "It is a characteristic of the declassé petty bourgeois intelligentsia to throw about lofty phrases. Educated proletarian communists would probably scoff at this 'manner' with nothing less than mockery and expulsion from positions of responsibility. We must tell the masses the bitter truth simply, clearly and directly..." (Collected Works, Vol 36, p 290-291). In my opinion, M. Shatrov's play is the closest thing for the present day to that measure of bitter historical truth about which V. I. Lenin speaks.

V. G. Markin, candidate in philosophical sciences, chairman of the Department of Marxism-Leninism, Volgogradsk Branch of the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute
Volgogradsk

...

Dear Comrade Shatrov!

Our great thanks and sincere gratitude to you for your play, "Farther... Farther... Farther!"

Some things in the play do not fully correspond to my notions about that period and a somewhat later one, or about the described leaders. As I see it, the victims are not rehabilitated enough by the play, while the one responsible for these victims is not condemned severely enough, as he so fully deserves.

Nevertheless, the play is wonderful. Once again, I thank you with all my heart, and wish you continued success.

Sincerely yours,
A. Dolnikov
Kharkov

...

Dear Comrade Baklanov!

At the meeting with readers which was televised on 20 February 1988 you spoke out in defense of M. Shatrov and his play, "Farther... Farther... Farther!" You said that versions of events in fictional literature are allowed, but the distortion of events, the distortion of facts is not allowed under any circumstances. The question arises: what is a version of historical events and facts confirmed by historical documents? Isn't it a fabrication, an assumption, and the same a distortion of facts? I think that any version in general which concerns the historical events of the recent past is inappropriate. And in this case, author Shatrov's version of the revolutionary events of 1917 and later, and of the interrelations between the leaders of the revolution is not only inappropriate, but even insulting. Why, for example, do they have to show the dirty intervention of Stalin into the personal life of N. K. Krupskaya and V. I. Lenin? Why write about the fact that the gendarmes raped Spiridonova, why did Stalin force Bukharin to walk on his hands on the stage ("Brest Peace")? Why did Shatrov begin this play with the widow of a revolutionary cursing the leaders of the revolution? All this may be termed blasphemy.

Shatrov should not be defended. Instead, he should be "worked over," subjected to criticism, and have his brain cleared, although this would probably accomplish little. It would not help. Shatrov, in my opinion, has no talent for writing, nor any diligence either, for that matter.

A. P. Zuyev
Leningrad

...

Greetings, dear and respected friends and respected editorial staff!

Thanks to all of you for printing M. Shatrov's play, "Farther... Farther... Farther!" It made a tremendous impression after the first reading, and it contains not only the hope that glasnost is not an illusion after all, but

also a thousand questions—why, after all? It contains the understanding that the play depicts not only our yesterday, but our today and tomorrow. Instead of conjectures, doubts and rumors, it contains the information of which we have been deprived. I am 40 years old. In school we learned a different history of the USSR and the party. We read the play all together as a family, together with my 18-year old daughter, who needed it as a point of reference.

Svetlana Pavlovna Konovalova
Leningrad

Dear Editors!

I read with interest the play by M. Shatrov, "Farther... Farther... Farther!" It was a very timely publication. I do not agree entirely with the author, specifically with his explanation of the emergence of the cult of Stalin and the repressions as being largely the result of a chain of random events, actions and deeds of party leaders at that time. However, the general pathos of the play—Leninist, anti-bureaucratic, confirming the unacceptability of achieving lofty goals by low means—makes the play very necessary and beneficial for our time.

It is also good that the letter of Bukharin and the letters of R. Luxemburg and others are presented in the monologues of the play's leading characters. This is important to know.

And one other thing. The play is a tribute to the memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions. The proposal to create a monument to the victims of repression was supported by applause of the delegates to the 22nd CPSU Congress. But where is this monument? Therefore, it is good that literature, and specifically M. Shatrov's play, fills this gap.

A. N. Gusev
Moscow

Dear Editors!

In the January 1988 issue of ZNAMYA you published the ravings of a lunatic! Yes, yes! I am not mistaken! I am speaking of the author's version of the events taking place on 24 October 1917 and significantly later, in the play by Mikhail Shatrov entitled "Farther... Farther... Farther!" First of all, rather little is said in this vile publication about the events of 24 October 1917. All the events are jumbled together into one indiscernible tangle. They begin in 1917, jump to 1922, and then it is unclear to what other time, when all the participants in the action had already gone off to a better world, people who in real life had never met and could never meet, talk, or argue amongst themselves...

The "description" of Stalin's personality requires particular scrutiny. Shatrov placed all of the anger which he was capable of into the "portrait" of Stalin. We have only to cite the words supposedly pronounced by Ordzhonikidze addressed to Stalin: "Who are you? Contra? You dream of the restoration of capitalism? Rubbish." Or the words of V. I. Lenin: "Today, if we think of the fate of our movement, we must say loudly and clearly: socialism—yes! All the socialist transformations which have been implemented—yes! The methods of Stalin—no! Morality according to Stalin—no!" These words clearly express the desire of the author to present everything in such a way that the positive changes in our country took place bypassing Stalin, while all evil was the work of Stalin's hand.

It would not be a gross error to note that at the present time it is primarily the repressed or those who share their views who speak out in our literature with an evaluation of the pre-war period. And it is specifically they who see only one side of the question. But do you, comrade journalists and writers, think of us whose numbers are much greater—the millions of invalids and participants in the Great Patriotic War. Do you think of us who gave our lives for Soviet power? After all we, young boys still wet behind the ears, went into combat with the words: "For the Homeland! For Stalin! Hurrah!" And for many these were their last words! And you want us to cross this period out of our lives. You want us to admit that we gave our lives and were left cripples in a struggle for injustice! Add to this the conversations which have emerged about the fact that socialism is a utopia...

Now, after a few decades have elapsed, we have become wiser. We understand many things. We also understand those mistakes which I. V. Stalin allowed. And yet we cannot depict him as an enemy of socialism, an ignoramus and a boor. After all, in this very same issue in the article by B. L. Vannikov entitled "Notes of the Narkom" I. V. Stalin is depicted as a thoughtful man who enquired into the heart of a matter. Also depicted there was the base soul of certain specialists, as for example B. Shpitalnyy, whose slander led to Taubin's demise. Evidently, we must realize that we are incorrectly evaluating the events of those already far-off years. We approach them with the measuring rod and based on the situation of the present day. Yet at that time the morals and situation were totally different. I remember very well how during the Great Patriotic War all the German soldiers to us were fascists and everything German personified evil. That was the case also after the revolution, when every nobleman and landowner, every officer was the fiercest enemy. Therefore, if we want to justly evaluate the events of the pre-war years, we must evaluate them based on the situation during those years, and not write whatever jumble or nonsense that we please.

L. Mushketik, invalid of the Great Patriotic War
Kiev

Honorable Mikhail Shatrov!

I read your play, "Farther... Farther... Farther!" with great interest. In its content the play is very valuable, particularly for the youth, who generally do not know the historical truth about the course of the October revolution and about the building of socialism in our country.

And we too, the old men, especially the rural peasantry, although we lived through all of this and experienced it all on our own hides, could not know the real sources. However, we could guess many things on our own. We could guess that Stalin had not chosen the Leninist path to building socialism in our country. Even though he used Lenin's teachings as a cover, he did everything in a different manner: harshly, one might say, on the bones and blood of our people.

I am sure that if V. I. Lenin had lived at least until the 40's and had remained the head of the party, our people would not have endured the torments and deprivations which they endured in the 30's and 40's. Maybe we might even have been able to avert the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. Whether I am right or wrong in my convictions, I express them to you without secret, openly, and now not afraid that the "black crow" will grab me in the middle of the night...

Our party's new policy has allowed our people to breathe freely, even though the outdated leaders and their hangers-on, all these bureaucrats, wage the struggle against M. S. Gorbachev with all their might, spreading various rumors and creating artificial difficulties for the purpose of stirring up the discontent of the people. But they will not succeed in this. The ship of perestroika has already set sail, and crushes this icy reef like a strong nuclear-powered ice-breaker...

I implore you, try with all your might to see that your play is staged very soon in the capital theatres, and then in the oblast and city theatres. This play must not only be read—and few will read it, since the circulation of ZNAMYA is probably not very great—but it must also be seen in the theatres and on television. This is necessary for the mass study of our truthful history, for training the new historical thinking of our youth.

Respectfully yours, pensioner, former rural teacher and peasant evacuated from my native village due to the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station, Akim Mikhaylovich Starokhatniy, Gomel Oblast, Oktyabrskiy rayon, Lomovichi village.

I read the article, "Only the Truth Is Outside of Jurisdiction" by G. Gersasimenko, O. Obichkin and B. Popov with pleasure, and at the same time with amazement.

It is nice to know that three doctors of historical sciences, in their discussion of the play by M. Shatrov, "Farther... Farther... Farther!", take us back to the political situation of the October Revolution, which had been distorted or hushed up for many years by our historians. We cannot exclude the possibility, however, that this is the fault not of the historians, but of the politicians.

However, we would like it very much if, instead of the absolute negation which resounds in the article by these doctors of historical sciences, they would write truthful books or articles about that time which today so greatly worries all the citizens of our country, about the historical plots of the greatest leaders of our revolution, and primarily V. I. Lenin, books and articles which would deal with the social structure of society after the victory of the revolution. How did they view the economy of our country, the social structure of society, the culture and art of the future? To what degree did these dreams of the revolutionaries or their realized plans correspond to our reality in the 30's, 50's, and subsequent years. Are we moving toward these ideals or, on the contrary, are we moving away from them?

After reading the critical review by the honorable historians, one gets the impression that they are irritated by the incursion of dramatist M. Shatrov into their sphere of activity. Their criticism is rather reminiscent of the crushing review of three opponents during defense of a dissertation. There are errors in dates here, and the statement that Savinkov offered Plekhanov merely the post of minister, rather than prime minister. The authors view the play as a candidate's dissertation which the "candidate" must rewrite after a detailed review, or else leave that field of science.

Evidently, the honorable historians are still living in the past. They do not feel the fervor of present-day life and do not understand that our perestroika is revolutionary.

M. Shatrov's play reanimates the great ideals of our Revolution which have been forgotten by many historians and politicians. The play sounds the alarm in the present day. It raises us up toward sharply improving the economy, developing democracy and glasnost, and developing the human personality.

We would like to tell the authors of the critical article in a friendly manner not to worry that, "having torn the seals off the cargo of the past", we will let the train be derailed. The "train" will take on speed. It is already gaining it, and it cannot be pushed off its path, especially if ahead of it there will always shine the green light of Truth.

Professor S. N. Fedorov, General director of the MNTK "Microsurgery of the Eye," USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member
Moscow

Dear Mikhail Filippovich!

Your plays force us to think and look closely into our foggy past. I am ashamed to say that we, Soviet people, know foreign history or the history of the ancient world better than we know what happened in our country some 70 and 50 years ago.

Your plays contain real life, and not a surrogate in the form of the lacquered picture which we were given as truth of the highest order and which was forced upon us in schools, in the newspapers, and in the false memoirs of our contemporaries. I will not take up any more of your attention. I only want to say that I am delighted by your courage. No one has ever liked lovers of truth. People have always wanted to set the limits of truth before them. After all, a half-truth is already not the truth, and it is hard to tell what is more harmful—lies or half-truth. Remember, honest people are always on your side. Thank you very much!

Davydova
Kishinev

To the editors of ZNAMYA:

Since the thinking majority in our country and in the entire world has a tendency to perceive and analyze not only the text, but also the subtext, and primarily—the intonation, the tone of certain announcements, every time the authors of the article "Only the Truth is Outside of Jurisdiction" speak out too loudly or too nervously in defense of certain values (socialism, historical materialism, the image of Lenin), they objectively discredit by their very manner that which they subjectively strive to defend.

If we seriously analyze the intonation and content of this article, it turns out that its authors are afraid for socialism as for a sick child which, if not taken out into the fresh air, will inevitably get "pneumonia" and then, maybe, will give up its soul to God.

We must unwittingly ask: who does not believe in the stability of socialism? Is it Shatrov, who is not afraid to give voice to his opponents? Or is it the authors of the article about which we are speaking?

Furthermore, the authors suffer from that very same mistrust of the people of which they accuse Shatrov. Since they believe that a single, even if a very talented, play can disorient all of us...

The bad thing is not that the authors speak out sharply against Shatrov's play. That is their right, and in the society which we are building there are not nor can there be any untouchables. The bad thing is that they are

operating with a prohibited set of instruments which, I repeat, fully discredits that which they want to defend. In essence, they are trying to close off a meaningful discussion around a number of interesting and controversial problems which this talented and necessary play touches upon.

I am afraid that today even those who would like to object and have something to say about Shatrov's conception—something to say from the standpoint of deep respect for the talent and erudition of the dramatist—will prefer to remain silent so as not to be classed, heaven forbid, in the same category with the people who operate in a lexicon which, as we all believe, has faded irretrievably into the past.

It is the debatability of the new Shatrov play which is its strong point, rather than its weak point, as the authors of the article "Only Truth is Outside of Jurisdiction" try to convince us. This debatability is the ideological weapon in the struggle against the rust whose name is triviality, banality, and fear of departing, God forbid, by even a hair from the canon, fear of disturbing the proportions of the icon-painted image.

How can we not help but recall Aleksandr Trifonovich Tvardovskiy here: "The great Lenin was not God and did not teach us to create gods."

Yet someone needs this icon-painting.

Who? Is it those who are most afraid that the people will begin to take a serious interest in the world of Lenin, to read the originals of stenographic records of the party congresses and conferences?...

Let them argue about Lenin and about socialism. That means that these values are alive, and that a high social status is being returned to them.

Shatrov, I might add, always fought for this, and in the most difficult situations. And in the case of any non-correspondence of positions, it is shameful today, from the supposed positions of perestroika, to "hush up" those who were responsible for our preserving Lenin for the social masses in the most difficult years. After all, the historians did nothing, nor possibly could they have done anything, to give viable life to Lenin's image, while Shatrov was waging his struggle all alone.

S. Ye. Kurginyan, candidate in physical-mathematical sciences, artistic director of the Moscow Experimental Theatre-Studio "On the Boards"
Moscow

Greetings, Dear Mikhail Filippovich!

My wife and I read your play, "Farther...Farther...Farther!" I can't really say that we received great satisfaction

from it, since we, of course, experienced more complex feelings. Nevertheless, we would like to warmly shake your hand and support your indomitable spirit. What you are doing is necessary! It is just as necessary as bread, air and water...

Despite the fact that my wife and I are relatively young, we were fervent Stalinists in the recent past. The reason for this is simple. We felt that the state was regressing and, it seemed, only a steel hand could bring us out of the stagnation. In arguments with friends I untiringly propagandized Stalin's methods. I might add that I argued my opinion not without substantiation, but on the basis of Stalin's works, also using the "irrefutable" conclusions: the victory in collectivization, industrialization, the building of communism, and the war. That is, the same guileless set of arguments which Stalinists use even today. However, neither I nor my wife were hard-core Stalinists, and we tried to explain the doubts which we experienced by logical constructions under conditions of a "historical vacuum." Our doubts increased when I began to study dialectical and historical materialism at the evening institute. And it was specifically at that time that the first publications began to emerge regarding the "gaps" in history. Today I consider my fervor for Stalinism to be a shameful spot on my biography, and will probably never be able to forgive myself for that moral, ideological and political nearsightedness which today is often called "shades over the eyes."

When I think about what happened to me, I come to the conclusion that such a breakthrough in consciousness is a benefit to society, since it occurred painfully only for me and in no way touched upon the interests of the state. However, the problem of Stalinism is not a problem pulled out of thin air, and it has become extremely acute in recent times. And it would be good if it concerned only the personal interests of the citizens... Stalinists, unfortunately, still occupy many posts and try to determine the direction of activity of society, based on their own convictions.

As we are currently convinced proponents of democratization, we are watching the publications on questions of history with great interest. Your play, "Farther...Farther...Farther!" seems to have summarized my wife's and my reflections.

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Smirnov, 37 years old, worker, secretary of the shop party bureau
Moscow oblast, Serpukhovsk rayon, Protvino village

Dear Comrade M. F. Shatrov,

I'm sorry I don't know your first name and patronymic.

In connection with (thanks to, despite and in spite of) the critical campaign which has arisen in regard to your play, "Farther... Farther... Farther!", I would like to express to

you my deep respect, support and solidarity. I consider myself one of your fervent proponents, for whom your last work is a major contribution: to the honest interpretation of our history.

I am not a theatre-goer or a historian, but I read the play in one gulp. I re-read it three times. Leaving its literary-artistic advantages aside, I would like to note that for me personally it was a social phenomenon, a new way of looking at our historic past. It seems that the socio-political and moral-psychological evaluations given in the play, the wonderfully and cleverly formulated series of questions and problems, and the depth and meaningfulness of the historical analysis place it ahead of and above those balanced articles which contain general phrases in a general form about our history, country, society, etc.

I would like to wish you new success, courage, patience and faith in your just cause. You are not alone in the system of your views, principles and evaluations.

B. I. Snopik, docent, candidate in psychology
Kharkov

The author of one of the critical articles on M. Shatrov's play, V. Glagolev, reminds us of the "rudimentary truth of Marxism," focusing attention on the objective regularity of historical development, which acts "regardless of the will and desire of individual historical personages whose role is determined by how fully they realize this regularity in practical application." It turns out that the author of this article declares all the deviations from the Leninist norms which took place along the way of socialist construction in our country to be a historical necessity, which took place "regardless of the will and desire of individual historical personages..." As it turns out, these historical personages merely realized the objective regularities of historical development! And since the "main factor of history is always the people," Stalin's personality cult and the stagnant phenomena of the 70's were all the work of the people!...

Yes, the general direction of history is determined by the objective regularity of society's development, and its main factor is the people. But various paths and zig-zags, including short-term historical backward movement, depend on the leaders who wield the power and stand out on the forward stage of history. And while that which has already been cannot be redone, it is nevertheless necessary to know where certain personality traits of leaders wielding power, as well as their current political directions, will objectively lead. This knowledge is necessary in order to avoid a repetition of the errors in the present and the future along the path of our society's development. It is necessary to the broad masses, in order to

know what path to take for forward movement without zig-zags and backtracking. This, I understand, is the essence of glasnost, which is necessary for the development of self-government in our society. However, the author of the article, unfortunately, has turned the "rudimentary truth of Marxism" into a thesis to justify any actions of persons in power, since, according to his interpretation, "regardless of will and desire," they realize the objective regularity of historical development.

A. I. Tretyakov, CPSU member, engineer, 58 years of age
Orel

I read in your first issue (what a beginning!) the vile pasquinade by Shatrov.

If we lived in Vilnius, I would take the time to go and tell him what I think of him.

How can you take one of the two most honest and great men who ever existed in the history of the USSR, Iosif Vissarionovich Stalin, who is dear to most of the decent Soviet patriots, and slander him so viciously and cowardly after his death? And you gave your ZNAMYA for this purpose! It used to be a good journal before.

People like Shatrov, Rybakov, etc.—cult-breakers and falsifiers—will fade away, and fortunately everyone will forget about them. But that which comrade Stalin did and that which we accomplished under his leadership will remain in history for centuries, and our descendants will be proud of this, just as we are.

Magis Konstantinovich Shchensnovichus, participant in the war
Vilnius

Dear Editor-In-Chief!

"We are now slipping away into that country where it is a quiet paradise." We were born under Lenin, while his heart was beating and his great mind lived and worked... We are witnesses to his, Ilyich's, beginnings. But we are also witnesses to the 30's, to collectivization, dispossession of the kulaks, and repressions...

We were participants in the war and peaceful labor. As they say, we have gone through it all. But we have not given up, we have not yielded. Even now we are in the ranks. Everything concerns us and interests us. It is our nature.

The present day worries us, and the coming day worries us even more. What does it hold for us, our children and grandchildren? Will what happened before be repeated? Can we allow that which happened under Stalin?!

But every now and then some clerk or bureaucrat, some business dealer who has gotten fat through his sponging,

or sometimes even a young person who does not yet know what life is all about, beats his chest and yells and screams: "I am a Stalinist!" You can take that to mean that everything is permitted for him, everything is allowed. It is all nothing to him, even if he walks on people's heads. After all, he is a Stalinist!...

This is a low kind of "pride," not ours and not Lenin's. This is not our moral ethic.

Thank you for publishing the play by Mikhail Shatrov, "Farther... Farther... Farther!" in ZNAMYA. In spite of the gloom and darkness in the play, revolutionary renewal inexorably shines through. Light conquers darkness. The truth is a lie.

I would like to express the confidence that this play will take its deserved place among readers, in our libraries, in our theatres, and on the stage.

Petr Mitrofanovich Chaplin, veteran of labor, invalid of the Great Patriotic War, CPSU member since 1944.
City of Mytishchi, Moscow Oblast

Shatrov's play is not about Stalin and not even about Stalinism. It is about the roots of this phenomenon, about its reasons, and most importantly, about how to avoid a recurrence and how, finally, to squeeze out of all of us, including especially the historians, if we may say so, the remnants of Stalin.

In this sense the play "Farther...Farther...Farther!" has something in common with the well-known film by T. Abuladze, "Confession." Only Abuladze's work is a parable, while Shatrov's is a historical drama. However, the meaning is the same: until we get rid of the dead body, we will not be able to walk the road to the Chapel.

Yet Shatrov goes farther than Abuladze. He not only exposes the roots of Stalinism, but even has the courage to give a clear recipe for avoiding a recurrence. The recipe is not a new one. It has been formulated in practically all the recent speeches of M. S. Gorbachev. It is the continued comprehensive development of democracy.

Democratization of our society is today the question of questions. I will be brave enough to affirm that today many people are divided in their attitude toward democracy, and specifically toward the question of its limits. Everyone has their own understanding of these limits. Many see these limits at the level of the 70's, while some—even at the level of the 30's...

So, in my opinion, M. Shatrov's merit is that he has been the first in our literature brave enough to publish Lenin's concepts about our democracy.

I. Solodar, engineer
Moscow

Dear Comrade Shatrov!

We should have more such works. In my opinion, the more honestly we speak about errors, the greater the guarantees that they will not be repeated. Forward movement requires the unadorned truth. Otherwise, a repeat of the sad time of stagnation awaits us. After all, we cannot treat an illness, particularly a neglected one, without getting down to its cause. A correct diagnosis is the guarantee of correct treatment and quick recovery. If we stop now in our search for the truth, how can we speak of any forward movement? The continued publication of such works as your play, the "Children of the Arbat," "The Golden Cloud Slept Here," "White Vestments," etc. etc.—this is the guarantee against errors and stagnation, the guarantee that there will be no backward movement, and that perestroyka will conquer. This is a real communist play.

I hope you present it on the stage soon.

M. N. Berman, 35 years old
Omsk

Dear Editors!

I just read M. Shatrov's play, "Farther...Farther...Farther!" in the first issue of ZNAMYA for 1988. I have never read a more penetrating work! It is a remarkable combination of truth and high party thinking. I was utterly amazed at the deep clarity of thought of Lenin's bolshevik cohorts and the satanical resourcefulness and harshness of Stalin and those around him!

It is frightening to read this truth! But we need it like air, like bread, like water. Without it, it is impossible to go "farther... farther... farther." Was it this ignorance of the truth which concealed the reason for our standing in one place for the last 20 years?

I will try to get a copy of this play for myself, so that I can have it at hand and re-read it in moments when I am overcome by apathy in my work (this happens even now!). You have inspired in me a faith in justice, purity, and thought, a faith in the end results of perestroyka. I know one thing: perestroyka is not yet present in many places in the country. There is not even a whiff of it. There are too many descendents of Stalin, too many champions of Brezhnev's weak will, to hope for a rapid renewal. And yet...

Thank you to the editors of ZNAMYA for their interesting publications last year, and I am sure, future interesting publications!

Keep the right course! Your choice is the correct one!

Respectfully,
Yakub Patiyeu, party worker, 35 years of age
North Osetian ASSR

Dear Grigoriy Yakovlevich!

On 17 February of this year I viewed the television broadcast of the meeting of ZNAMYA with its readers, held in the Lenin Library. You announced at the start that your journal is outside any grouping, that your journal is objective in its activity for the benefit of the fate of the people, and that there are no factions in the journal. This was very good to hear. But then, in responding to the notes from readers who were worried by the question of distortion of the historical truth in the plays of M. Shatrov, and specifically in the play "Farther... Farther... Farther!" published in your journal, you defended M. Shatrov (as well as V. Lakshin) in every way possible, presenting this in such a way that the author has the right to his own version.

However, an article on the same question, "The Right to One's Version?", appeared in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, written by L. Kunetskaya, senior scientific associate of the museum-home of V. I. Lenin in the Kremlin. Who but an associate of such a museum would be well versed on everything which concerns V. I. Lenin? L. Kunetskaya noted the distortions of history and personality of Vladimir Ilyich in the plays of M. Shatrov, and expressed great concern that such plays will be staged, and that from them millions of people will become acquainted with the history of the country during the Soviet period in a distorted form. You are, of course, also aware of the article signed by three doctors of historical sciences who criticized M. Shatrov's play, where V. I. Lenin turned out to be the "accused." They pointed out that the play abounds in a lack of historical authenticity, and that M. Shatrov ascribes comments to Lenin which contain negative evaluations of current socialism, and turns V. I. Lenin into a spokesman for his own ideas and thoughts.

How can we ignore the opinion of leading specialists and historians, and continue the popularization of this play by M. Shatrov?

For some reason, the "ideological front" has perceived democracy as it sees fit and has launched into arbitrary rule and all-permissiveness!

Democracy as an ideology should not turn into the principle of "I will do whatever I please." Ideology, the press, and literature in all historical periods and in all states has had a censorship. Every state has guarded its state order. So why do certain leaders in the press and literature today understand democracy as all-permissiveness? Why are they not concerned with the fate of the people, and why do they do great harm to the consciousness of the people?

One thing has become clear, and that is that it is not groupings which have been formed in literature today, but rather there is a violent ideological struggle going on. One direction of writers, journalists and critics is fighting for the national traditions of the Russian people and other nationalities of the republics, for patriotism and spirituality, drawing a clear boundary between good and evil, between morality and immorality. At the price of great intensity of spiritual forces, such writers as V. Rasputin, V. Belov, V. Astafyev, V. Shukshin, F. Abramov, Ch. Aytmatov, P. Proskurin, S. Zalygin and others have emphasized the limits between truth and lies, good and evil which was concealed in the period of stagnation. They called good good, and subjected evil to uncompromising criticism.

Another direction of writers is oriented only toward western examples, and not the best ones at that, toward "mass culture." They do not hold dear any spiritual or moral values. They "work" toward the corruption of souls, toward the degradation of man. They write with contempt about the people, using only malignant gossip against the people and abusing the rich history of Russia, including also Soviet history.

But let us return to your first phrase regarding the fact there are no groups in your journal. Isn't there some kind of a concealed grouping when ZNAMYA continues to justify the author M. Shatrov, whose "version" distorts the truth of history and who introduces his own subjective conceptions? This is inadmissible in a historical work, and particularly one associated with the recent history of the Soviet state!

You have not convinced anyone that this is the right of the author, and we are left with an unpleasant aftertaste which tells us that your journal has not listened to the opinion of specialist-historians!

Yu. Yevdokimova
Moscow

Dear Editors!

Your article, "Only the Truth is Outside of Jurisdiction," published on 15 February of this year, greatly surprised me.

Really, how could it happen that three professors, three doctors of historical scientists, did not bother to carefully read the play which they were criticizing before publishing their critical article?

Otherwise, how can we explain the fact that they did not understand (or did not want to understand?) its main idea?

After all, in maintaining that the play "Farther...Farther...Farther!" is nothing other than a judgement of Lenin and the ideas of socialism, the authors of the article clearly express this lack of understanding on their part.

At the same time, M. Shatrov's play, I dare to think, can be understood not only by people who have "mastered the methodology and methods of historical analysis." Its main idea, if you will, is accessible to all.

M. Shatrov affirms that that model of socialism which we today have does not fully correspond to the Leninist conception of socialism. M. Shatrov sees the beginning of the departure from Leninist principles in the events of the 20's-30's. He explains this departure by a number of subjective factors, and primarily by Stalin's personality cult. That is it—the main idea of the play. Yet the article "Only the Truth is Outside of Jurisdiction" says nothing about this. Yet we can, of course, argue with M. Shatrov's conception, although I personally support him in many of his views. Otherwise, why would we now need to reorganize and to think about the human factor? We would have to "deepen" (which, essentially is what he have been doing for quite some time), or at least to "improve," but certainly not to "reorganize" our real socialism.

Thus, M. Shatrov's play presents a criticism not of socialism in general (as the authors of the article maintain), but of the "Stalinist model" of socialism which, you must agree, is far from being the same thing.

Furthermore, the authors of the article insist that in M. Shatrov's play Stalin is "another hypostasis of Lenin." Again this is either a lack of understanding or an unwillingness to understand M. Shatrov's thought. M. Shatrov speaks of something else: the methods of harsh, uncompromising struggle which are necessary and deeply justified under conditions of an armed uprising and civil war are totally unacceptable, harmful and inhuman under conditions of peaceful construction. Moreover, as M. Shatrov proves, Lenin used these methods only against the true enemies of the revolution (I believe the characteristics given in the play to Kornilov, Denikin, etc. confirm this), while Stalin began using these methods against the people, perhaps people who made mistakes here and there, but nevertheless people who were sincerely devoted to the cause of building socialism. You must agree that again this is by far not the same thing.

In M. Shatrov's play Lenin acts not as Stalin's advocate, not as an indirect defender of his methods (as the authors of the article try to convince us), but rather as a procurator, as a judge, if you will!

And this thought of M. Shatrov, if you will pardon me, also lies on the surface. Why did the authors of the article not understand it?

And finally, the authors of the article criticize M. Shatrov for allowing "historical inaccuracies," confusing, for example, the exact date of the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly or the name of the position which Savinkov at one time offered to Plekhanov. Well, these really are inaccuracies, but it seems to me that they have no principle significance.

Yet, one of the errors made by the authors of the article does have a principle significance and bears a methodological character. Such errors are extremely undesirable for reputable historians. I am referring to the affirmation by our respected professors that "the letter written by Bukharin before his death is generally not subject to scientific examination."

Not to mention the fact that such an affirmation in itself is simply unethical, I dare to maintain that in fact it is not so. For many years there has been a sort of stylistic examination, i.e., by the text of the document it was possible to determine with a high degree of probability whether or not a certain person was the author of a given text. For this purpose, the text of the document is simply compared with other texts written by the hand of the same author. The legacy of N. I. Bukharin is great, i.e., there is material on which such an examination can be performed, if only the desire were there.

In their article, comrades G. Gerasimenko, O. Obikhkin and B. Popov complain that "...most people get their historical information more often from literature and art than from the works of certified scientists."

Well, this really is so. That is the way it will continue to be if the scientist-historians continue to treat readers as people who know little, who cannot distinguish black from white, and who are not capable of understanding what an author of a historical play wants to say in his work.

A. Yegorov, historian-archivist
Moscow

...

Dear Mikhail Filippovich!

I watch your plays with great interest. I am very happy that you want to convey through drama to a broad audience your point of view about historical events and an entire series of facts in our country's history which, unfortunately, up until this time have been the property of only a narrow circle of professionals.

Since I, as a historian, like your plays, I would like to see as few errors as possible in them.

I must point out to you that the play "Farther...Farther...Farther!" contains an error. It looks awkward on the background of the other rather precisely reported facts, and was hardly committed for literary considerations. I'm afraid that you were betrayed by some incorrect source of information.

The error consists of the following:

Eyno Rakhya was not shot in 1938. He died of natural causes on 26 April 1936 and was ceremoniously buried at the Communist Square of Aleksandro- Nevskiy Lavra in Leningrad. The obituary appeared in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA on 29 April 1936. His grave site has been preserved and is protected by the state.

Boris Pavlovich Shiferson
Leningrad

...

Dear Editors!

In this missal we would like to express our gratitude for your publication of the play by M. Shatrov, "Farther...Farther...Farther!"

From the newspaper publications we can see how different the evaluations of this work are. There are many who revile this play. Generally, these are professional historians. This is not surprising. After all, Shatrov's plays break down stereotypes which have been created over many years. These works force people to take a new look at the history of our country, our party and its leaders. This touches upon not only the "professional pride" of our "revolutionary specialists," but also upon their daily bread, which up until now has been earned without much effort. Our historical science (primarily the historical party science) has received a proper evaluation. It owes a great debt to society. Therefore, our historian-"revolutionary specialists" should not spend their time criticizing the dramatist, but rather should make up for lost time.

Shatrov's play really does go farther. It calls upon society to perform an in-depth re-evaluation of the legacy left to us by the Great Revolution. The questions which the play raises are in the highest degree political. The time is ripe not only for us to discuss them, but also for our party and all society to resolve them. Without their resolution the cause of perestroyka can hardly be victorious.

The author of the play and the journal which published it performed an important and brave socio-political action.

At the meetings of our political club we have for a number of years been studying the history of the party and the Soviet state, and have been doing so primarily based on the sources, and not on related monographs (although we try not to overlook them, either). We believe that Mikhail Shatrov on the whole correctly presents the events and the spirit of that epoch and

skillfully ties them in with the present day. We ask the editors to convey to Mikhail Shatrov our sincere wishes that he write even more bravely, go even farther...

When the works of revolutionary leaders (and not just the Bolsheviks), the stenographic records of congresses, conferences, and plenums, and other documents are finally published and re-published, then no one will be able to make a fool of society, "doling out" to it only that which, according to the highest understanding, is "politically expedient."

Wishing you success and expressing our thanks, we are the members of the city Komsomol Political Club imeni N. I. Bukharin: V. Pisigin, A. Kalachev, R. Salikhov, V. Mokeyev, F. Basharov, D. Shirkov, V. Starodubtsev, S. Yershov, F. Sharipov, and A. Chertkov.
Naberezhnyye Chelny

Criticism or Sentence?

We consider it our party and professional duty to decisively protest against the willful distortion of the meaning and content of M. Shatrov's play, "Farther...Farther...Farther!" in the articles which have recently appeared in print.

The concept of the play is very clear. The author has placed it in Lenin's monologue: "...Today, if we think about the fate of our movement, we must say loudly and clearly: socialism—yes! All the socialist transformations which have been realized—yes! Stalin's methods—no! Morality according to Stalin—no!"

This same thought is developed in the play by Ya Sverdlov. "...Which legacy will we decline, never, of course, forgetting it, and which will we take with us?" That is how he formulates the problem, and immediately gives a clear answer. "The Magnitka we will take, the Banner of Victory we will take, faith in socialism we will take, and every day that leads us away from being a nation of slaves we will take, we will never decline!"

This pathos of historical continuity and optimism permeates the entire play. "...The October Revolution," says Lenin, "has sown such seeds which sooner or later will always give shoots. October cannot be uprooted in the souls of the people. Even during the most terrible years our people kept the oil burning in the lamps."

This concept of the author does not "actively oppose," as the critics maintain, but rather fully corresponds to the party line, to the course of the 27th CPSU Congress, and to the documents of the 70th anniversary of October.

Having subjected the play to "vivisection"—tearing out of it individual phrases and remarks, and arbitrarily and groundlessly interpreting them, the critics accuse M. Shatrov of ideological errors and ascribe to him the very ideas against which he speaks out in the play. This type of approach smacks of the already forgotten times of

"workovers" and political labelling, which preceded practical conclusions, if not in regard to the author himself, then in any case, to his work.

We are most of all disturbed by the fact that this type of criticism, which sounds like none other than "a sentence of the last instance," may deal a blow to the creative process of interpreting our historical experience and will close off the possibility of comparing different points of view in search of the truth.

Naturally, we are not calling for taking M. Shatrov's play out of the "zone of criticism" (each of us has our own comments and proposals). However, we must speak of honest, constructive and truly scientific criticism. Only such criticism can enrich the author and help him in developing his work.

I. Mints, academician

A. Samsonov, academician

A. Ignatyev, doctor of historical sciences, professor

G. Yoffe, doctor of historical sciences

A. Nenarokov, candidate in historical sciences

R. Ilyukhina, doctor of historical sciences

Yu. Sharapov, doctor of historical sciences

V. Loginov, doctor of historical sciences, professor

A. Butenko, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor

Ye. Ambartsumov, candidate in historical sciences

Ya. Temkin, doctor of historical sciences, professor

Ye. Gorodetskiy, doctor of historical sciences

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Bondarev Critically Views Polemics in Literary Circles

18000512 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 88 p 11

[Article by Yuriy Bondarev: "Pain and Hope"]

[Excerpts] In recent days before the 19th party conference, I received a note at one of my meetings with readers. It said: "So what is going on in your literature—a civil war? Or is it a discussion, argument, and search for the truth for the sake of the development of talents? Why do you keep silent?"

A writer's word is his action. But can we speak of a happy marriage between literature and life? Or between economics and reality? Or maybe it is just in our time that these marriages are unhappy? How can we determine the spiritual value or the depravity of current phenomena? And who is capable of doing so? Criticism? Society? Science?

If a painter, as the parable goes, painted only one rose, even though seen with the vision of a genius, the modern-day photographer would be the king and idol of all artists. And then certain critics would have no reason to have the cheerful impudence of 16th century gravediggers.

We are tired of the substitution of values, of ambitious spectacles in the press, of the fury of offensive arguments. We are no longer surprised when the theoreticians of art, accompanied by fanfare reminiscent of the notes of a funeral march, every month enthrone a new writer, who has just slightly fallen short of being called great. Really—whom are they crowning? A philosopher and prophet who understands and explains the world? A muckraker? A seeker of truth? An apostle of destruction? And together with these questions, the main question agonizingly arises: what will triumph in art in the nearest future—the influence of mass culture or the realism of thought?

Only when there is no artificial vibration in the triangle of writer, critic and reader is this edifice strong. But since, under current relations the artistic criteria have been undermined, any self-respecting artist of the late 80's must give himself this strict advice: do not stop in tender emotion or anger, but go persistently forward, relying on your own talent. After all, our current criticism, which safely conceals itself in the most sacred phrases about the protection of democracy and perestroika, is often affected not only by the struggle of vanity, offence, settling of accounts, jealousy, and masked self-seeking, but also reflects a fervent struggle of ideas, patriotism against nihilism, and conscience against perfidy. Sometimes even the smirk of nationalistic cruelty flashes from behind the accidentally half-raised curtain.

Aside from this, the invisible transparencies of certain popular publications contain the formula for the oath of all-permissiveness, written in words invisible to the reader. That is: "Wherever we are, there is talent. Whoever is not with us is therefore ungifted and against us, and we will find occasion to deal with him."

In this fine directionality, refined dislike reaches the point of hatred. This segment of criticism from time to time performs a ceremonious group dance in the editorial offices, never stopping to think in its jubilation that such victories do not have the necessity of black bread, and therefore are doomed to defeat.

It seems to me also that the respected economists are not approaching their goal too independently. They are entrusting the complex living situation in our country to concepts of the image of foreign success. Sometimes we get the impression that the proponents of anti-perestroika, having taken on the liberal-democratic guise, that they want to equally style all the traditions, all the peculiarities of our land, all the national truths. They want to hurriedly create in life as well as in art a so-called

inviolable but ugly hairstyle borrowed from expensive foreign salons, after which they want to shear everything "down to naught." To a certain degree they succeed in this endeavor, and their skill is loudly applauded by the best "barbers" in the world. Nevertheless, a significant part of our conversations about literature, cinematography and theatre turn into discussions about a menu offered to a healthy person with a healthy stomach who cannot understand why he is being offered unbaked bread, or piroshki with crushed glass, or hot pepper, or distilled water. The entrees of discussion which are served contain practically no healthy rye bread, natural salt, or pure spring water.

Where did it come from, this martyr-maternal-paternal feeling toward our seemingly all-forgotten culture, unenlightened in the darkness and not knowing what to value, what to read, how to love, whom to raise up on the wax pedestals through our common efforts, how to dethrone them, and whom to subject to public execution?

I have no doubt that it is unsuitable and erroneous for both sides to take up the position of irreconcilable enmity, to respond to all criticism and to rush headlong into battle. This is a useless matter. In our profession we must nevertheless know how to keep quiet from time to time, so that in the worldly bustle we do not upset the coordinates of sincerity in the lanes of the rhythmic garden smelling of paper flowers. We know that the seeds of dissent are sown by sinister forces. Sometimes this is done by pseudopolitics in art, building false criteria which can set a fashion trend, subtly fool the reader, and finally, ruin taste and build a dam in front of spiritual values. Yet everything unnatural is unable to stop the effect of talent as long as mankind, the sun, love, the dew, the grass, the sunset, woman, and pain exist...

We know that to understand is to forgive. However, this old wisdom today sounds too sentimental, too romantic, similar to the sound of dusty, museum-relic recollections about conscience, shame, and honesty. For example, when I want to understand the lyrical, moral-philosophical, social, aesthetic, contemporary idea of many of the printed articles, I want to explain their emergence to myself by suffering, of course messianic, for the sake of saving the authority and honesty of our awkward literature. But alas, there is neither the youthful sincerity nor the expected salutary messianism to be found here.

At the recent Writer's Union plenum, I spoke about that prison of words in the culture of any people, which is built from material stupidity, aspersions, intentional slander, mercantile snobism, and slavish crawling before the commercial aesthetic which distorts the natural beauty introduced by noble knights and ladies of the grey darkness. The prison of words—it is a distorted mirror, the fanning of dark passions, one-sided glasnost which brazenly betrays democracy; it is nationalism which pretends to be national sentiment. Yes, nationalism is always an imitation of patriotic feeling.

We can, obviously, bat our eyes in a "super-truthful" and "super-revolutionary" manner from the rostrums and before the television cameras, disclaiming with fervent love of truth the authors who supposedly bow down to arrogance, "hob-nob with the classics and with art." We can scandalously accuse the modern prosaics in that they, of course, took circulation away from Bulgakov. We can compile blacklists of those with "anti-perestroika" and "anti-democratic" sentiments, who found out to their embarrassment that all that glitters is not gold, that not everything that is new is talented, and not everything that yells loudly is the call of justice. Yet in such a mind-boggling onslaught, in this swooning fervor, in this merciless extremism of whirled up desires, in all of this there is an almost indecent presumption and helplessness. In it I see an effort to hide egoism and partiality behind poorly drawn decorations.

Recently we also learned that, as it turns out, there are those among us who denounced Tvardovskiy's "New World," publishing the deadly "letter of the eleven." But where is the limit to general lack of responsibility? Why is it that not one publication will publish the above-named letter as a sign of proof, after which, in my opinion, everything would fall into place? And it no longer seems strange that the "Book Review" does not publish the letter from 6 Moscow writers regarding the article entitled "At the Turning Point," which evoked serious criticism among writers, but rather that it publishes only a response with several excerpts from a letter received from correspondents. The response of "Book Review" ends as follows: "Write to us, dear comrades. The times call us to great sincerity...in evaluating all the words and deeds of which we are a part. Now is such a great time, a time which unites us." Well, yes, it seems somehow awkward to touch upon hypocrisy which is passed off as glasnost. Evidently, the newspaper, in conformity with its moving direction of thought, has a rather fine understanding of the terms "great sincerity" and "participation" in this time of democracy, glasnost and perestroika.

Maybe no one other than Dostoyevskiy in "The Possessed" depicted with such open satire the repulsive men of petty ambition, the liars, the little Bonapartes who dreamed of their own Tula. He so frighteningly showed the Valpurgian night of the demons and imps with the self-importance of world rulers, insidious mystifiers surrounded by the gloomy and gleeful shadows of obedient jinn, the debauchers of taste, the corrupters of feelings and hope. Any comparison leaves much to be desired. Of course, we were all pleased by the return to our culture of the novels of Bulgakov, Nabokov, Pasternak, Platonov, Zamyatin, the poems of Akhmatova and Tvardovskiy—works without which our literature would not be complete. Yet alongside this—never in my recollection have such panegyric articles been written about the lack of artistic value, the sad senselessness, the emptiness of the soul, the stupidity, the imitative modernism, and the lack of heroism. Never on the pages of any other newspapers and journals has there been such

an amicably organized annihilation and slander of major, authoritative writers, producers, artists and critics who speak their own mind, who have the courage to defend their point of view, their attitude toward abnormalities in art, and their disagreement with evaluations which are stubbornly imposed on them. Never before have such praises been sung to the commercial, the suicidal, the entertaining (i.e., the living rot). Never before has there been such an open group struggle, where talent and mediocrity were intentionally thrown into the same "heap." Never before has our past and our experiences been so greatly besmirched, never has there been such a self-quenching destruction of great traditions.

There is cinematography, where a timid endeavor is bravely passed off as success, as a "violent jerk" and "revitalization of the screen." There is the theatre, which is experiencing a deaf state of crisis. There is serious music, which is silent in a state of incognito. There is literature which, like a magician, suddenly pulls a plucked chicken out of its left pocket, while we should expect the appearance of a nightingale. What about specific examples? What about names? Do we need to magnify the evil in our environment which has already been too much aggrandized?

I would like to stress that our misfortunes were brought to light by perestroika—the breakdown of the deadened, the long-maturing depravity of the spirit. And now, in the years of change, the thought which sprang suddenly into the wild little heads has intensified—the thought of skillful substitution of the long-awaited democracy with the all-permissiveness of "counterfeiters" of art, who know very well that lies are capable of being skillfully passed off as the truth so as to appear infallible.

If life on earth is preserved (there is, as it were, the highest truth, the universal direction) and if truth in art is preserved, obviously not in the ideal-heavenly form, but rather all that we perceive as truth (there is nothing ideal on earth), then, according to the dialectical phenomenon of Heraclitus, the actions of various demons and imps will never cease. There will only not be the clever masters of the literary balls dressed in masquerade costumes and operating under the slogan: "Love truth, since it will help your lies." I might add that in the works of Leo Tolstoy we often find the expressed notion that we are constantly forced to refute false judgements or to agree without argument; that to argue and refute trifles and lies is a futile effort, since "there may be and are an infinite multitude of lies."

Obviously, this would be so if we were living in the times of Tolstoy, when the world in spite of all its complexity, filth, and injustice still retained its naivete, and did not find itself on the edge of a moral and physical abyss; when after long creation it made an all-mighty and universal goddess out of a multitude of lies, turning many trusting and kind men into languid and impractical sceptics, and young men ready for a better fate, fooled by time and without a clear faith in the dying

righteousness of their fathers left forever on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. In the 80's no mortal has the right to destroy the faith of the youth in the sanctity of the military biography of the older generation which was not lived in vain and which was not always victorious.

Willfulness (in the evaluations of historical events, the characteristics of individual writers, military leaders, the revolution itself, perestroika, etc.) and an active fashion toward banality (dress, erotica, street language, emulation in all forms) have taken influential positions in various publications. This ultimately brings an irreversible decline to ideology and culture. It is unnatural that the great turning point in our life and the cause of economic and moral perestroika are also being used by those ignorants who delight in ignorance, as well as by those brawlers who delight in uproar. How often it happens—the break in our art occurs not along the immutable laws of life, but along someone's imposed prejudicial desires, in which there is nothing young, nothing fresh, nothing worthy or pure, where talent of one's opponent is the greatest threat, which must be weakened by malicious words, slander, falsification of the facts bordering on denunciation, and maybe even by some cruelties which, according to the hopes of one dramatist, are supposedly necessary in the epoch of democracy. We do not want to think that this dramatist's article contained a sinister yearning, a sleepless nostalgia for the "iron chancellor," but somehow I could not help but sadly recall the poems of P. Vyazemskiy written in 1860 about totalitarian liberals. Let me cite several lines: "They have two weights, two measures, a dual point of view, a dual judgement: to themselves they give authority and power, they raise their own upwards, and the others they bury. For everything they have a strict slogan, under their liberal stamp: do not dare to go your own way, do not dare live by your own mind. Whenever they glorify anyone—everyone must bow down. Whenever they set someone in disgrace, you too must give a kick for them... Freedom is a transformation of roles—in their specific language it is the denunciation of personal will in order to be a cog in their steam-engine."

Yes, life is struggling and overcoming. It would lose all sense were it not for the obstacles in it, the slopes, the ups and downs which are overcome with effort, haltingly and with doubts. Life in heavenly bliss, in the thoughtless paradise of satiation, satisfaction, and pleasure, amidst the innocent, graceful whiteness of paradise would in itself be the classical kingdom of boredom. This radiant heaven on earth would probably lead to such a number of suicides as world statistics have never known. The task is not to smoothe over in this epoch of revolution all the contradictions, all the differences of opinion in the understanding of morality, truth and beauty. The task is to achieve a calm and wise forward movement in our common quest in this epoch of spiritual and economic perestroika. Here we must be guided by the laws of life, common sense, and expediency, not by the outbursts of swearing in newspapers and journals, not by the sinusoidal nature of the judgments of dilettantes from

history, not by the doctrines of those who interpret borrowed ideas, as if this will help us to increase the harvest, not by the "revolutionary" phrase, so to speak, of the new leaders of criticism who have unexpectedly emerged from silence and who have no claim to this leadership, since they build their theoretical positions on loud sensations.

In our time, when a particular interest in history has emerged, we have once again begun to speak of factual literature as of the literature of untapped possibilities. There were lengthy discussions on this topic in the West in the late 50's-early 60's. At that time, documental and publicistic literature was proclaimed to be practically the main type of literature, edging out traditional novel forms, which supposedly had no perspective because, being fictional, they (so it was maintained) were far from the needs and demands of real life.

Only the interpretation and the recognition of a fact leads us to mastery and to understanding of the phenomenon of life. A fact is merely an external face of truth. Its interpretation with incorruptible objectivity, the study of feelings, actions, doubts, decisions, strength and weakness—this is the task of the serious novelist. This is because it is specifically the genre of the novel which allows us to overcome and to make the transition from the specific to the general, i.e., from fact to truth. Most assuredly, the novel is part of our wonderful and outrageous world, to which the artist imparts the direction toward truth.

In general, the sceptical grimaces of documentalists aimed at the novel are at the very least premature. The novel lives and will continue to live as long as man exists, and as long as his spirit, courage, beauty, delusions, love, vices, upward flights, and downfalls exist. But the novel is also, I believe, a unique projection of the spiritual state of the author. At the same time, the novel is a means of getting closer to the truth. In this case, I am referring to the truth in its philosophical sense. The eternal and the transitory, good and evil, light and darkness—in trying to study these concepts, which are always current, the writer creates an artistic portrait of life in its infinite and varied manifestations. But this portrait of life is also a portrait of the writer himself—his self-portrait. The artistic truth of the author belongs to everyone. Undoubtedly, the truth of Leo Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy, Sholokhov and Bulgakov lives... However, there is also an author's half-truth (which is more dangerous than a lie). Sometimes it extends rather broadly, stealing the password to the reader's heart away from the truth. It can be found not only in writers such as Zagoskin, Charskaya, and Varfolomey Zaytsev who were famous in the past, but also in certain well-known current poets and critics, the hapless victims of ambition, literary fanfare and self-advertising scandals.

Letters, memoirs, various types of factual and graphic evidence allow us to touch the life of the distant past, to understand, for example, what the epoch of Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Chekhov, or Bunin was like, or the time of the February and October

revolutions, the late 20's and mid-30's, the tragedy and victory of the Great Patriotic War, the decade of Khrushchev, or the time of Brezhnev. Everyone is interested in facts—the most unadorned, uninterpreted facts, facts in their pure form.

From the last century, I am interested in that which concerns the lives of individual philosophers, painters, writers who are my favorites. I am interested in various moments of their biography, their actions, and their behavior in life. From memoir literature I learn, for example, that Turgenev was kind, inconstant, artistic, had a reputation for being a European, and was distinguished by his oddities in his relations with the weaker sex... Can these details explain Turgenev? The writer Turgenev? Not by any measure. The image of Turgenev in our consciousness will be formed only after we have "passed" the fact of his biography through his books. Having interpreted a fact in the context of the main thing which comprised the essence of Turgenev's life, in the context of his creativity, we will possibly understand something about Turgenev. We will see him as a writer and as a man.

But what about the present century? The name of Stalin does not leave the pages of the press. Stalin—who was guilty of abusing power and of crimes against the people.

While I was working on the novels "Tishina" [Quiet], "Dvoye" [The Two], and on the script of "Osvobodzeniye" [Liberation], I spent many years gathering material from people who had met him personally. At the same time I read many works published in the West, memoirs with varying degrees of accuracy, and I got the image of a man who was cruel, insidious, willful, contradictory—a character which in no way fits into the geometry of facts of the novels which have currently caused such a stir and the new publicistics.

As yet the efforts of writers and publicists do not overcome the sketch of the dispiriting straight line, the shortest distance between two points. The despotic figure is depicted with obsessed mercilessness of revengeful will to be an obtuse villain—a vampire with the sick psyche of a vegetable stand owner, thirsting for blood. A weak artistic personification invariably gives rise to a half-truth, which is more dangerous than a lie. As we know, the truth is not afraid of imagination (Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy), but a half-truth becomes intertwined with fact (Zagoskin, Boborykin), bites into the apple of truth, and makes it inedible.

12322

Moscow Militia Chief Discusses Policy on Demonstrations

1,8000497a Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jun 88 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant General Petr Stepanovich Bogdanov, chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom GUVd, by Yu. Shabanov; occasion, date, and place not specified; under the rubric "Interview in the Issue"]

[Text] [Question] Petr Stepanovich, at the rally organized by the "Democratic Union" group near the Gogol monument on 1 June, Yu. Mityunov, one of its organizers, remarked to me with astonishment: "Can you explain what's happening? This is already the third rally we have held and we are not being arrested or broken up by force." But is this really so very astonishing?

[Answer] Not at all. This year the number of demonstrations on the streets and in squares increased several times as compared to last year. From 25 May through 9 June alone 39 rallies and demonstrations were held. More than 2,000 people took part in them. That is, we are speaking of events which we workers of the law enforcement organs cannot ignore. Our task is to keep order during this type of demonstrations. But that does not at all mean that the militia is trying to slow down democracy, which is what some leaders of informal organizations demagogically accuse us of. Especially those who take constitutional freedoms as an opportunity to do whatever they want with impunity without considering the interests of other citizens at all and in so doing permit themselves to make slanderous attacks on the policies of the party and government and the socialist order.

Even in such cases militia workers try to act by persuasion, explaining to those who have assembled how they are disturbing the peace and breaking the law and what responsibility they may bear for it. But if appeals and persuasion do not help, we are compelled to take measures to enforce our Soviet laws.

[Question] Without overstepping the laws themselves? Or does such a mistake still happen?

[Answer] We are also learning democracy after all. And we do not always succeed. I will not hide it, there are cases of violation of socialist laws among militia workers as well. But we are trying to eliminate them by all possible means. In any case every violation we know of receives proper evaluation. We investigate them at the collegium and in the party committee of GUVd and primary party organizations.

The incident with the so-called "flower children" or, to put it a little more simply, hippies, who assembled on Gogol Boulevard in May of last year was an exemplary lesson for us. They sat down on benches and on the grass and conducted themselves improperly. A car came up with workers of the 60th militia who demanded the boulevard be cleared and the demonstrators did not concur. Then the

militia began to drag the demonstrators into the car. We punished the chief of the RUVD and those who showed such arbitrariness for this license. The proper explanatory work was done in all administrations.

And here is one of the fresh examples of the illegal actions of the workers of the 83rd militia department of Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon. They detained the filming crew of the "Vzglyad" television program who were filming artists painting the back of a building. And even though the amateur artists were disturbing the peace by not getting permission to paint from the rayon architect, there was no reason at all to take the television crew to the militia department.

[Question] So incidents do happen.

[Answer] It can't altogether be denied. Our workers do not yet know how to competently evaluate a situation, show restraint, and act properly. We are trying to get rid of those who cannot be corrected, as they say. Last year about 600 people were discharged from the internal affairs organs for being discredited and some were expelled from the party and the Komsomol. We are teaching the rest and indoctrinating them and we are changing the forms of professional and political studies.

[Question] Not so very long ago, Petr Stepanovich, I had one of the leaders of an informal organization in my editorial office. First he asked me: "And do you guarantee my safety?" And when I answered him that I guaranteed it completely, he, in my opinion, was even disappointed. Does it not seem to you that such a situation with arrests and force is essential to those people who do their utmost to show, above all by appealing to Western journalists, how the "bad socialist regime" is suppressing them?

[Answer] I agree with you. Moreover, recently we have been observing that in certain informal groups the extremist elements are being aggressive and are openly coming into conflict with the militia by provoking them to retaliatory actions. For they very much want to portray themselves as "political martyrs and heroes" and draw attention to themselves. Not so very long ago when militia workers suggested that the "refuseniks" demonstration near the Lenin Library break up, some of them tried to inflict minor physical injuries on themselves. For one purpose, obviously—to accuse our associates of breaking socialist laws. And on Pushkin Square several people from informal groups announced that they were militia workers and flagrantly detained ralliers. That was also an attempt to compromise the internal affairs organs.

[Question] Some people reason this way: let them have their rally, what is the militia doing there?

[Answer] That is fundamentally mistaken reasoning. What if a riot occurs? At the "Kropotkinskaya" metro station, for example, there was an attempt to physically

pressure the leaders of the "Democratic Union" group. We had to step in. And what is more, in general, as the bitter experience of the events in Sumgait showed, the militia must be ready in case mass riots arise. Incidentally, the capital's militia have everything necessary to stop them. So Muscovites can be assured on that account. For unsanctioned rallies and demonstrations make many people uneasy.

[Question] You said "unsanctioned." Do you mean the provisional rules for holding rallies, meetings, and demonstrations existing in Moscow for which permission can be gotten only in rayispolkoms? But after all quite a few voices are saying that these rules contradict the Constitution, where the corresponding rights are declared.

[Answer] In my opinion, the provisional rules regulate and make concrete the freedoms declared in the Constitution and insure their realization in the interests of all the city's inhabitants. In all countries rallies and demonstrations are controlled by state organs. We see this from television broadcasts from abroad. A different question is can these rules always suggest right responses? Don't they push certain bureaucratic valves when they prohibit more than they permit, as IZVESTIYA justifiably wrote about? And here, it appears, we need to introduce as quickly as possible a statewide legal norm and corresponding law which would clearly define the procedure for holding rallies and demonstrations on a democratic basis and the responsibility of both those who organize the action and of the organs of law and order.

But this year, while the provisional rules are in effect, we, the executive organs, are obligated to uphold them. I hope that confrontations do not occur.

[Question] And for now the militia workers are compelled to take not only the role of keepers of the peace but also of a kind of political agitators.

[Answer] We told our workers to more boldly make contact both with people demonstrating and with journalists, Soviet and foreign ones, and simply with curious citizens, and to the extent they can explain what is happening. But is altogether obvious that it would be much better for party, soviet, and Komsomol workers and activists, scientists, lecturers, and representatives of those Union republics in Moscow whose inhabitants are appearing at meetings and rallies to answer the questions which are bothering people. Why should employees of permanent delegations not persuade their countrymen that disturbing public order can only lead to an impasse? But I rather rarely see these people at rallies. And even more rarely do I see them speaking in debates. But they certainly should not avoid those debates; they should influence the consciousness of people and put out solid arguments against the attacks of ideological opponents. And our press should want to cover these events a little more often so that conjectures and rumors do not arise.

Here is one other case for reflection. The other day MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI wrote about the self-immolation of a visiting woman near the Kremlin. It was explained that she had not been able to find work for 3 years. And that was the finale. A preposterous one, of course. But I want to say: if the problems which citizens deal with were resolved in a better and more efficient way locally, there would be fewer of various kinds of dissatisfaction, trips to the capital for justice, and similar excesses.

After all, people come to Moscow because local authorities start the red tape even when there is talk about the elementary needs of their inhabitants.

[Question] Thank you for a frank conversation, Petr Stepanovich. We wish you success in your difficult job, that it may be in complete accord with the spirit of the time.

[Answer] And success to you too. I am grateful to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA for the opportunity to express my opinion on questions which are bothering us workers of the internal affairs organs. I think, incidentally, that they are not irrelevant ones to all of Moscow's residents either. We are prepared to continue cooperation.

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Academician Kurashvili Assesses Role of 'Democratic Union'

18000497b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
15 May 88 p 3

[Interview with Boris Kurashvili, jurist and leading scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, by V. Telegin; occasion, date, and place not specified; under the rubric "Restructuring Through the Eyes of a Scientist"]

[Text] The idea of creating a new mass sociopolitical organization, a democratic union, is being discussed in public circles. As its supporters believe, it could help coordinate the interests of various public groups and provide each person and even each local independent organization with additional opportunities to take part in managing the country's affairs.

One of the active supporters of creating the union is the jurist and leading scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law Boris Kurashvili. [Question] On what does he base the need for this new organization?

[Answer] The need for it, B. Kurashvili believes, is explained by at least two reasons. First, in my opinion, a certain gap exists in our political system which was somehow not observed in the conditions of stagnation but has become clearly visible in the period of restructuring. I mean the fact that up to this point we have no mass public formations which unite those people who

are not members of the Communist Party—and they are after all the majority of the country's population—in a broad circle of social interests. It is the democratic union which could assume the function of such an association using the example of a number of other socialist states.

Another reason is that restructuring has called forth rapid growth in the sociopolitical activism of the people. This is manifested, in particular, in the emergence of more and more independent public associations. Their potential is by no means being used to the full extent at the present time, however, since these associations generally do not have an outlet into the present system of government and are not linked into those elements which really make the decisions. That is why the country needs this mass democratic organization which could accumulate the interests of the most varied public forces and groups and give them a outlet channel to political leadership.

[Question] But on what principles can this organization be based?

[Answer] It must have both individual and collective membership. Virtually any adult person could become an individual member of the union since the selection for admission to the union should not be so strict as, let us say, for admission to the party. Nor are such strict demands as, for example, active participation in the organization's work rational. Every citizen is free to participate in its activity to the extent to which he himself considers it necessary for himself.

As for collective members, many of the independent organizations being created now can become members if they want. The union will give them the opportunity to discuss and coordinate questions affecting them and will be like an arena of public consensus.

[Question] But some criteria for selection should still exist for admission into the union. Can active supporters of restructuring and open opponents of it, for example, really be members of one organization? So if they really need some organized association, then those associations should be different unions.

[Answer] In my opinion, the **general socialist orientation** of those people and public groups who want to participate in its work should be the only criterion for admission into the union. As for various positions within this orientation, in accordance with that principle the union should not exclude anyone. And if we are speaking in particular of adherents and opponents of restructuring, the democratic union will undoubtedly attract above all those people who actively support changes—after all they will get the opportunity to realize their aspirations in the union.

However, the union must not cut itself off from those who criticize restructuring both "from the left" and "from the right"—a good share of criticism and self-criticism could fundamentally help restructuring even

now. You must agree that the process of restructuring in our country is for now a half-hearted one: a great gap exists between the concept and its embodiment in concrete decisions in the local areas. In these conditions any criticism is good just because it excites public opinion, rivets attention on unresolved problems, and aids in formulating more carefully considered decisions.

The union's task is to search for alternative ways for socialist development of society and participate in selecting the optimal variants for resolving certain problems of the society. And that search will give few results if the union becomes too uniform in terms of the interests and positions of its members.

[Question] But after all, such organizations whose real causes are very dubious from the standpoint of socialist choice do exist in the country. Take, for example, the "Pamyat" society. It has a healthy wing but there are also quite a few members and even leaders who act from nationalist and chauvinist positions. What if "Pamyat" wants to join the union?

[Answer] I am certain that the union will not waive its own principles and "Pamyat," if it wants to participate in the union's work, will have to adjust its course. Besides, I do not even exclude the possibility of a split in such organizations in those cases.

[Question] In your opinion, how should the democratic union be organizationally constructed?

[Answer] Most likely it will have its own central organ as well as territorial—republic and local—organizations. As for lower organizations—at enterprises and in institutions, there is no need for them, it seems to me. But perhaps there is. The union itself must decide that.

Generally I believe that the union should not be constructed on the same principles as the party is organized. For it is certainly not conceived of as a new party, although in my opinion we must not fear such an analogy. Yes, we have no real social-class basis for a second party, but there is nevertheless a need for an organization to perform certain functions of a second party. I mean in particular the possibility of criticizing the state and party apparatus and trying to insure that these organs fulfill the party's program goals more effectively. I am certain that enough occasions for such criticism will be found.

[Question] But all the social organizations that now exist—trade unions, the Komsomol, women's councils, and the like—certainly have this right.

[Answer] Of course, but each of them operates within its own framework determined by the interests of the social groups and strata which stand behind them. The democratic union has the opportunity to unite these social organizations and the interests they represent since it is open to both communists and nonparty members, to members and "nonmembers" of trade unions, and to

people of all occupations and ages and to both traditional and new, including informal, social organizations. In short to all who desire to participate in its work.

[Question] What rights and opportunities should the union have in order to be able to realize its decisions?

[Answer] I think that the union should not have any "authoritative" rights at all, for all USSR social organizations carry out their decisions through the system of organs of state power—the soviets of people's deputies. And so the union's task should also include convincing state organs that the decisions they have made should be realized. But not just by delivering papers to the "official level," but also by many other means.

[Question] Which ones in particular?

[Answer] First, the union should take part in election campaigns to the soviets. Essentially it will be like a further development and organizational formation of the electoral bloc of communists and non-party members proclaimed in our country a long time ago. The opportunity to influence the nomination of candidates for deputy and to agitate for certain ones of those candidates will undoubtedly provide the union with some authority in the organs of power.

Another channel of persuasion is the mass information media. Using them the union will have the opportunity to influence public opinion and through it the organs of power and government. But of course in the person of its central organs the union should have the right of legislative initiative in the USSR Supreme Soviet as well as the right to make proposals on holding various referendums.

[Question] How, in your opinion, will the union's interrelations with other social and state organs take shape?

[Answer] Above all in interrelations with the CPSU. The communist party is the vanguard of the Soviet people and the leading force and nucleus of its state and social organizations. Naturally it will carry out the general leadership of the democratic union as well. But how is certainly a question of political wisdom. The main thing is not to take away its autonomy and independent position: the union should have the right to its own opinion and its own face, that is, to really be a mass sociopolitical organization of the population.

As for its relations with the management apparatus, it is easy to foresee both the opportunity for coordinated work and the probability of various conflicts involving the fact that it is precisely the administrative apparatus in our country which is to the greatest extent infected with bureaucratism today. In this connection the union may lose the trust of its members and the respect of society if it does not uncompromisingly fight against any bureaucratic distortions.

[Question] Do you believe that such a union will be created in the very near future?

[Answer] Of course I do. All the logic of the processes of restructuring and democratization now occurring in our country convince me of this. A new social mechanism is simply essential to these processes; a new social mechanism because of which, as M.S. Gorbachev said in speaking at the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, "efficient democratic control would be clearly set up and the corresponding legal procedures would be developed which would... exclude the possibility of subjectivism on all 'floors' of our political system. We must insure that principled decisions are formulated and taken with the active participation of the people."

It is the democratic union of social forces which could be just such a new social mechanism.

12424

Kazakh Health Minister on Shortcomings in Health Care Administration

18300364a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 19 Jun 88 p 4

[Interview with KaSSR Minister of Health T.A. Izmukhambetov by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent B. Zhumadildin under the rubric "Advice and Health Care: Pre-Session Discussion": "Our Common Cause: Today Is Medical Worker's Day"]

[Text] The Main Directions for Developing Public Health Protection and Restructuring Health Care in the USSR Under the 20th Five-Year Plan and Extending to the Year 2000 were approved last year. A vast program has been outlined for resolving this extremely important social problem. This large job imposes particular responsibility upon the health care agencies and the local soviets of people's deputies. The state of our medicine and its effectiveness affect the interests of every Soviet individual, after all.

Problems have accumulated over the years in the health service, and no advances are being made in many areas, particularly in the treatment and prevention of diseases. The questions of how to overcome manifestations of stagnation and how to raise this field up to the level of contemporary demands are very urgent ones. It is planned thoroughly to discuss the problems involved in developing health care in the republic at the regular session of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet. In the column designated today the newspaper will carry a frank discussion of the matter, in which we invite both specialists and all of our readers to take part. The column opens with an interview with KaSSR Minister of Health T.A. Izmukhambetov by our correspondent.

[Question] Talapkali Abishevich, a session of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Health was recently held in Alma-Ata, with republic leaders participating. It involved

a comprehensive discussion of the problems which have accumulated in the branch in Kazakhstan. The meeting established the fact that there has been a certain regression in health care in the republic, and many areas of your department's work were subjected to justified criticism. What conclusions have been drawn from what was said?

[Answer] Speaking of health care, many people frequently blame both the doctors and medicine as a whole for all of its failures and shortcomings. I feel that this is a simplistic view of what is actually a complex problem.

Health care is a large and complex system of state and public health-protection measures, in which medicine is just one of the main components. In fact, when an individual goes to a doctor, one has to think about why he is sick and what made him sick. Statistics show that 70 percent of the patients go to a medical clinic only after the illness has become obvious. To answer the question "Why?" one has to get down to determining what we breathe, what kind of water we drink, what we eat and under what sort of conditions we work. Only this sort of comprehensive approach can clarify the causes of the appearance or even outbreaks of a certain disease among the population.

Let us look the truth in the eye. In how many of our cities is air pollution within the standards? Who has calculated how much health has been damaged by conserving on funds earmarked for an industrial waste purification system? People are paying with their health for the thoughtless, massive application of chemicals in the fields.

What am I trying to say? In order to eliminate something undesirable, one has to remove the roots. It is exactly the same with diseases: right now we are mainly combatting the effects, but the causes must be ascertained and eliminated. And medicine alone can accomplish nothing in this matter. Incidentally, it seems very strange to me that it is mainly the writers and journalists who are sounding the ecological alarm in our society today. Logically, the agencies of state authority, the soviets of people's deputies, should be the first to "rouse themselves." The people's health is the nation's wealth, after all.

[Question] Does this mean that you see the main health-care problems as lying in our way of life? When the matter is put this way, where is the "dividing line"? What division of functions between state agencies and medicine, for example, do you think preferable?

[Answer] Way of life.... For a very long time we have in all things followed the common dictum that we should not expect favors from nature, that we have to take them ourselves. And we have taken, and taken.... Even now we still sometimes take them thoughtlessly. An alarming ecological situation is developing in Alma-Ata, Dzhambul, Ust-Kamenogorsk and a number of other oblast centers. This is what should receive priority from state

agencies! Now is the very time to correct errors and do everything possible to avoid making more mistakes. This is where that "dividing line" of which you speak begins.

Now let us take that which we simply cannot do without if we want to see the people healthy: public health facilities. We know that the construction of health facilities is not given priority. The residual principle for allocating capital and materials for our construction is a scourge on a state scale. The end result is that only 30 percent of the medical facilities in the republic presently meet modern requirements. Hospitals and health clinics are frequently housed in former office buildings and schools, most of them urgently in need of repairs.

The situation in the rural area is particularly alarming. A total of 29 rayon centers in the republic do not have standard hospitals. A total of 22,000 medical workers are in need of housing. We still have too few rayons with normal living and working conditions for doctors. As a rule, where they do exist is where the people are in good health.

Right now, the matter of comprehensive development of the territory is on the agenda. Try to find a department, however, which begins this development with the construction of a clinic or a health center.... And every ministry is required to allocate special funds for these purposes. This is the main area in which the republic soviets of people's deputies should apply their efforts.

Many enterprise directors try to enhance labor productivity while forgetting about improving working conditions. At the enterprises we frequently find filth, draftiness and a lack of medical stations and lounges. In the final analysis, all of this results in an increased number of medical cases. Here we have a job for the trade union committees.

[Question] One could conclude from what you have said that the local soviets, trade unions and negligent directors of departments and enterprises are to blame for all the health problems, while the medical workers have only to correct their errors....

[Answer] It is not all that simple. Problems have also accumulated for the republic medical workers, without whose resolution any qualitative advance is out of the question. In our work, as in any other, the end result is what is important. I would cite just two facts: child mortality in Kazakhstan is 14 percent above the national average. We also have a high incidence of tuberculosis and brucellosis. These represent our failures.

The republic is among the leaders in the nation with respect to the number of hospital beds. This should be gratifying, it would seem, but... 30,000-40,000 rubles should be spent to equip each bed, while our average is around 13,000 rubles. In this area too there was a sort of race for "gross showings," for numbers. This is why we

will not be increasing the number of beds in the near future. The existing ones need to be brought up to the level of modern requirements.

We have begun fundamentally revising our work with personnel. We have outlined plans for certifying all doctors. I think that some of them need to start giving some earnest thought to their performance right now. It will be a serious test.

It is obviously time to take a close look at the status of the chief physician. Narrowly specialized individuals lacking leadership skills and experience frequently become chief physicians. As a result they frequently spend a lot of time on administrative and organizational matters, and gradually lose their skills as doctors.... We greatly need an institute for training managerial personnel for public health capable both of deciding day-to-day issues and engaging in planning. A decision has been made to train such personnel at the Alma-Ata and Semipalatinsk medical institutes.

A great deal of confusion is also caused by the separation of those accountable for the health of the population. For example, every oblast has an oblast health department and, separately, an epidemiological station, a medical equipment center, a pharmaceutical administration.... Uniting these organizations under the auspices of public health should produce positive results. As an experiment we want to place the mid-level medical training institutes under the oblast health department. This will make it possible to plan the personnel situation. In other words, we have now conceived a plan for the extensive organizational restructuring of the republic's entire health system. I have mentioned only a few of the aspects, the most important ones.

[Question] We know that 5.6 billion rubles will be allocated for national health needs over the next 3 years. How much of this will Kazakhstan receive, and where will it be applied?

[Answer] Last year the republic received an additional 9 million rubles out of the social insurance funds, and the amount rose to 56 million this year. Where will this money go? First of all, it will be used for improving conditions in children's departments, special children's hospitals and maternity centers. We also plan to purchase a large quantity of modern equipment and gear, of which there is a universal shortage.

[Question] And what is the situation with respect to paid medical services?

[Answer] This is a complex and, I would say, sensitive issue. It is a matter of avoiding infringing in any way upon the Soviet individual's right to free medical services, of making these services the most complete and all-embracing possible. We are still acquiring experience in this matter. Already we are coming up against attempts by local soviets to resolve the problem with a single stroke: plans for paid services are

being inordinately expanded. We are also encountering special cases. Just what kind of paid services can hospitals for infectious diseases provide, for example? With respect to children's medical facilities, no sort of plans can be "sent down" to them at all. We have always treated and will continue to treat children free of charge. There is also something new: the development of medical cooperatives.

I would like to say this in conclusion. Health care has always received priority in the work of our party and government. There was more talk than action during the years of stagnation, to be sure. Good and correct decisions were made, but they drowned in paperwork and coordinating activities.... A turn toward real action has now taken shape. Making it irreversible, however, will require the efforts of every one who in one way or another can make a contribution to the improvement of the people's health. The problems of ecology, labor protection and the development of our medical facilities urgently demand resolution. The forthcoming session of the republic Supreme Soviet, which will consider the problem as a whole, must adopt a number of new and important decisions, and everything possible must be done to see that they do not once again simply remain on paper.

11499

Sociologists' Cooperative Formed at Kazakh State University

18300364b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Jun 88 p 4

[Letter from Sociologist M. Nigmatulin and reply by Yu. Duberman, docent at the Advanced Training Institute of Kazakh State University imeni S.M. Kirov and Vice President of the Kazakh Department of the Soviet Sociological Association, under the rubric "We Answer the Readers": "The Sotsiolog Awaits Orders"]

[Text] The Sotsiolog cooperative has been set up in Alma-Ata. I would like to learn in greater detail what kind of orders it accepts and under what terms they are filled.—M. Nigmatulin, sociologist with the Structural Design Association of the Alma-Ata Housing Construction Combine

The reader's question is answered by Yu. Duberman, chairman of the cooperative, docent at the Advanced Training Institute of Kazakh State University imeni S.M. Kirov and Vice President of the Kazakh Department of the Soviet Sociological Association.

Where the question was directed is remarkable in itself. People in industrial production are finally beginning to recognize the importance of the sociological service. Wherever such a service has been set up, one of its main areas of work has been to study the causes of personnel turnover and to seek ways to make the labor collectives

stable. The traditional, nonsociological approach to this extremely important problem developed during a certain period of time in which, through the will of the "great leader and teacher of all peoples," the extremely simple principle of "holding onto and not letting go" became established. A shining example of this approach was the ban on releasing workers at their own desire without the administration's consent. It is now clear to everyone that this crudely administrative, bureaucratic method is not just invalid from the legal standpoint but is also absolutely ineffective.

The sociologist today strives to study profoundly and thoroughly and to take into account every worker's personal traits, to select the most appropriate job for him, to alter those working and resting conditions and those relations within the collective which evoke dissatisfaction in people. It is not easy to achieve this, of course, since bureaucratic tendencies are still strong, even though they are not expressed as openly as they previously were.

Most of the problems at the enterprises involve young workers, newcomers in the labor collective. The turnover among this group ordinarily reaches 70-80 percent. It could be reduced significantly by means of sociological methods—at least down to 5-10 percent. There are examples of this. In order to do so, however, it is essential to have professionally trained sociological personnel, adequately perfected procedures and a readiness to view the customary problem in a new way.

Today, under the new management conditions, it can and must be given new life. The enterprise today can use at its own discretion the resources it has earned, after all. Just what does "its own discretion" mean when it comes to a large labor collective? This cannot be reduced to the "discretion" of the director or the limited number of individuals making up the administrative body! It is necessary to be able to take into account the opinions and desires of the entire collective, of the various groups of workers. Therein lies an extensive and realistic field for sociological activity.

Applied sociology itself needs to be developed in order for it to completely fulfill its designated purpose. An entire group of large problems have to be resolved. These include the coordination of research, the training of young specialists and the enhancement of the sociological skills of those specialists in various sectors of our national economy whose jobs bring them into contact with social issues. We can see that there are many tasks, that they are complex and urgent. In order to effectively accomplish them, the republic must have a well-equipped sociological center.

How can one be established? We could provide it with appropriate state funding, let us say, put together the staff and place the center under the authority of this or that department. Given the acute shortage of specialists, however, we would once again have an imitation, the

appearance of action, placed into nonprofessional hands. It would then not be an easy matter to dissolve the practically worthless organization as something not needed.

It would be incomparably more effective to set up a center, a cooperative association of professional sociologists. A cooperative is an extremely flexible organization in all respects. It does not need a permanent staff and is not funded from state sources. If it turns out that no one needs the cooperative, there are no problems involved: it wraps up its own work, since the sources of its financial sustenance, the individual clients, dry up.

If, however, it turns out to be beneficial to many, and many clients are prepared to collaborate with it, it will thrive and grow in scope and significance, acquire extensive possibilities and turn into a prominent, prestigious research and scientific center.

And the cooperative can achieve all of this simply through the quantity and quality of its work. This means that in its day-to-day functioning the cooperative will not be dependent upon the caprices and preferences of officials. Is that not fair? And is it not vitally important, particularly in such a sensitive area of human activity as sociology?

This is why the Sotsiolog cooperative was set up at the Advanced Training Institute for Social Science Instructors at Kazakh State University imeni S.M. Kirov. On a professional basis. Four of the six founding members are also members of the bureau of the Kazakh Department of the Soviet Sociological Association. The directors of the IPK [Advanced Training Institute] provide the cooperative with extremely effective assistance, without which we would hardly have been able to function, particularly in the initial stage. Our cooperative provides mainly two kinds of services: it conducts sociological research on the basis of orders from individual organizations and enhances the sociological skills of those specialists in the national economy who need it.

When it comes to cooperatives, one of the most acute problems evoking lively debate and sometimes, angry denunciation is the matter of prices. Well, the prices for our research product are an order below those which the client has to pay if he goes to a state research organization. If the sociological laboratory operating under economic contract has to be paid several tens of thousands of rubles, we can perform the same job for several thousand.

How is this done? Remember that if a client pays a laboratory 40,000 rubles under an economic contract, let us say, only 25-30 percent of this money will go into the wage fund, while the rest will evaporate somewhere, a significant portion of it going to cover senseless overhead—that is, to maintain the idle bureaucracy. The money going into the wage fund will be spread out over

the entire year or several years as payments in accordance with the permanent manning table, and the money will be paid at the official staff rate, regardless of the quantity and quality of the individual's work.

There is no denying the frequent cases in which one or two people do the work at research laboratories operating under economic contract, supporting many, mostly high-ranking individuals. And they are supported very well, since they have academic degrees entitling them to the high rates.

In the cooperative, however, all of the funds received from the client go toward the cause. Taxation for the benefit of the local budget is also part of the cause, after all—an important one at that. Furthermore, we do not have to support anyone simply because he is officially listed on the staff. We settle with those performing the job strictly in accordance with the work they perform, taking into account its timeliness, quantity and quality. And those performing the work have no interest in dragging it out, since this does not increase the amount paid. On the contrary, it is advantageous to do as much work as possible within a certain amount of time and receive more money for the job. These circumstances are a major advantage of ours, and we are confident that they will enable us successfully to compete with any corresponding state organization if our conditions are equal.

We are fully competitive also with respect to providing services in advanced sociological training, if only because we can respond extremely flexibly to the requests and terms of our clients. We can reshape the training program as desired, modify the organization of the training process within a broad range, reduce or extend it, conduct classes for full- or part-time students, during the first or second half of the day, even at night, whatever the client wants. We can set up training groups with a flexible number of trainees—large or small, even one or two people. The price of the training will vary for the different circumstances, of course, and a higher price will be paid for enhancing the training. If the client desires, we can even invite sociologists from leading centers in our nation, even from abroad.

It is important, however, for practically every client to be able to obtain services from us according to his needs and the amount of money he is prepared to allocate for the purpose.

We hope that in the situation of the restructuring underway in our nation our services will be needed by enterprises, organizations and labor collectives, and that we will provide a perceptible benefit. If there are few clients at first, so what? We will wait until such services are in demand.

Women's Working Conditions Deplored

18300333a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 1

[Article by G. Bilyaltdinova, under the rubric "Candid Discussion": "Not a Woman's Burden"]

[Text] I recall that about 10 years ago the well-known Kalininpess operator Antonina Sharapova, who set an industry record for brickproduction, noted in a newspaper article that only women were capable of such a thing. A little while later the editors received several letters from men who tried to rebut Antonina Mikhaylovna's arguments and challenged her to a competition. The competition lasted seven months. The men dropped out of the race.

I have visited many brick factories. It is dusty, stifling and noisy in the shops. But that is not what got the women workers down. What sapped their strength was something else—the daily manual movement of 30 tons of silicate mass. The women's faces were covered by respirators, and because of that, what I remembered most was their tired eyes.

The years have gone by, and one after another decrees have been adopted on making women's work easier, but in the country's brick shops, like many years ago, women's muscles strain to the very limit, like tightly drawn strings.

I recalled that story of long ago when I read L. Denisenko's letter from Kemerovo: "Finally people have started speaking up about us women. And the newspapers have carried one report after another: in one place a fashion salon has been opened; elsewhere a physician specializing in diet provides consultations on how a woman can look slender. All that is fine. But if you're going to think seriously about women, you must start with their working conditions."

A good many letters come in on this topic. Many of them simply astonish one with flagrant cases of violations of labor laws and management's lack of an elementary sense of compassion and concern for women. How, for example, can one accept a situation in which for part of last year alone women at the Pavlodar Tractor Plant who had young children worked more than 20,000 hours of overtime? And in Shop No. 14 of the Tselinogradkormmash Association, where most of the employees are women, the manganese dioxide concentration in the environmental air is 25 (!) times the maximum allowable concentration. Both of these enterprises are under the same department—the Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building. Two enterprises with serious violations of working conditions and the protection of women's health are no exception for such a prominent industry. In it, for example, occupational illness is four times the average for the country as a whole, and the incidence of lethal traumatism (in understandable language—mortality) among women is twice the average. Does the minister A. Yezhevskiy know that at the

enterprises under his department the working conditions of 56,000 women fail to meet the requirements of standards? They include the unsanitary state of personal facilities, the employment of pregnant women at night, and the effect on women workers of raised levels of noise and vibrations. After all, every line of violations, when translated into reality, sometimes means tragedy for a woman. Such tragedies include children who are never born, broken families, the loss of goals in life, etc. That which constitutes the meaning of life is obliterated in her. Something irreparable occurs: a woman becomes simply a working unit.

And what sort of penalties are paid by those who are to blame for this? A reprimand. Or a "serious admonishment." That's all. And the appearance of one more document requiring executives to rectify matters. But what is a reprimand to a bureaucrat who has adapted himself to everything, compared to the hard life of such women as the molders at the Torez Hard Surfacing Alloys Plant?

"Molder is purely a male occupation, but since it is manual, labor-intensive work under hard and hazardous conditions and, what's more, poorly paid, only women are employed at it at the enterprise. Most of the women workers very rarely work all the way to retirement age.

"Our shop is one entire room that houses furnaces for smelting the metal, a graphite crusher, and a machine for sifting the molding sand mixture. The levels of dust and gas there are very high. When the metal is being poured into the molds, a very high temperature is reached, and ventilators frequently break down. Work methods are antiquated. We are lifters, and press operators, and smelters.

"And in the past two weeks, the emergency squad has taken away two molders (M. Sinyugina and Z. Lymar) from night shifts with the diagnosis of disturbance of cerebral blood circulation. There you have the price...."

That letter carried the signatures of 25 people. I am certain that their appeal to PRAVDA was not their first request for help. Extremely hard working conditions have forced them to appeal to various offices. But isn't the root of the evil the fact that many people have reconciled themselves to such phenomena? How many years have we been talking about a flexible work schedule for mothers with large families, about expanding homework, and about introducing small machinery into use in production? Where are they, these machines that would lighten the work of women workers in many occupations? They do not exist. Why?

I attempted to find an answer in the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions' Committee on Women's Working and Living Conditions. There, after hearing my question, people immediately grew cautious: we don't provide information without the permission of a secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

What surprised me was not so much the answer as the complete lack of interest and readiness to try, together with the editors, to solve urgent problems.

Yes, lately we have been talking more and more often about women's problems, about their spiritual, physical and moral state, and about how it is necessary to return them to the family. It is true that the stronger the family is, the stronger the state. We talk and we understand, but alas, we do very little in a practical sense to this end. The freedom of women from hard physical labor is proceeding so slowly that freeing them from such work will take 50 years! Such are the statistics, for example, for Tadzhikistan. The proportion of women workers employed at manual labor there is still high. It amounts to 42 percent in industry, more than 70 percent in construction, and over 98 percent in agriculture. And there is work in tobacco growing, where pregnant women and teenagers are often employed! How can one justify the fact that with 1,363 industrial enterprises in the republic, there are only 11 medical units?

And there is more. It is hard to believe that women, the continuers of the human race, work underground. It is hard to believe it. But a fact is a fact. I shall give the address: Murmansk Oblast, the Apatit Production Association.

"But the women have no intention of giving up that work," people objected to me at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. "The wages there are high, and one can retire earlier on pension."

It is distressing to hear such words. Emphasis is placed solely on material incentives. As though a government decree forbidding women to work underground had not been adopted 30 years ago.

And so, can women workers be concerned about beauty contests and fashion salons, when third shifts are being pushed more and more persistently in the shops? Moreover, this is not at machinery plants where, incidentally, mainly men are employed, but at weaving, textile, garment and footwear enterprises, where women work on old, worn-out equipment. The country today needs machine tools, equipment and machinery that will not only produce high-quality, fashionable products but also, finally, free women from overwork.

I remember that a famous milk maid who had received an order was once asked whether she was happy. Pausing a bit, she answered quietly: "No. My whole life has been nothing but the livestock section and milking, and here I have missed out on the person in my son. I have singed my wings."

At ceremonial rallies to celebrate 8 March, the executives of ministries, departments and enterprises often pronounce splendid phrases about attention to women. So let us, finally, move on from words to deeds—let us

learn to be attentive to women workers other than on holidays. And let us not pass off as an object of pride the fact that women in our country work on a par with men.

Indeed, it is shameful to hear such a thing.

8756

Medical Care for Pregnant Women, Mothers in Uzbekistan Poor

18300333b Tashkent SELSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Special Correspondent R. Zaripova, under the rubric "Intervention Required": "Killed by—Indifference"]

[Text] According to statistical data, the infant mortality rate in the countryside is high today. Whereas in 1986 21.7 of every 1,000 infants born died in cities, 32 per 1,000 died in the countryside. And the situation is even worse in our republic.

What are the sources of this problem? Let us try to find the answer in a tragedy that took place in a typical kolkhoz.

Mukaddas was expecting a child and was happy. Her husband Dustmukhammad was attentive as never before and was even afraid to leave her alone for a few minutes. And suddenly? It seemed that there was nothing that portended misfortune.

But at one point the woman's state of health started to deteriorate, and she promptly went to the polyclinic on the Sovkhoz imeni Akhunbabayev in Leninsky Rayon in order to ensure her child against unforeseen consequences. Although the physician saw that the woman was pregnant, he did not summon the gynecologist, who was in the neighboring room, and he did not even send the patient for tests, but instead directed her to the skin clinic, basing this on her complaints of itching. From there, where Mukaddas was not found to have any skin ailment, she was sent to the gynecologist, who readressed her to the surgeon, who sent her to the district doctor.

Five days passed, filled with agonizing uncertainty and a drastic deterioration of health. Finally, the tests made at the instructions of the district doctor were ready. A diagnosis was made: hepatitis. Mukaddas was sent to the central rayon hospital.

But the patient's torments did not end with this. The future mother's hardest days were still ahead. K. Khayitnazarov, the division head, did not accept Mukaddas, saying that even the halls were overflowing with patients, and she was forced to return home.

Two days later she came back, but in vain. "No room," she was told. Here pleas were useless. And only the fact that the patient lacked the strength to go home—her health had been undermined by the disease, which had progressed rapidly without treatment—forced the people in white coats to take pity on Mukaddas: she was put in the hall.

The division head gave her a prescription. It was necessary to find a gemodez, albuminous plasma preparations and hormones. Mukaddas's husband, taking the prescriptions, went around to all the pharmacies, and in each of them he pleaded, begged, and explained that his wife was in grave condition. Alas, the medications could not be found anywhere.

And the sick woman waited in vain; her husband was prepared to give his life for a package of medicine, but each time he came back with nothing and could not look his wife in the eye. And in the meantime the doctors, feeling no remorse, calmly relaxed, watched television and drank aromatic tea.

A week passed. Dustmukhammad did the incredible—he got hold of some medicine, but it was already too late—the illness had taken away his dream of a child, his beloved wife and his family.

Here are the recollections of Mukaddas's mother:

"Several days before her death we came to the hospital. But even then she complained of nothing. She merely said: 'The treatment here is bad.' But why," the mother, exhausted from suffering, said in despair, "didn't she cry out? Why didn't she demand that she receive attention and proper treatment? Why?"

Yes, the mother is right, a thousand times right. In response to flagrant indifference and ignorance, one must cry out. Especially since this happened at the time when our country was celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, since it happened where a person is guaranteed free and high-quality medical treatment. Incidentally, the doctors never did establish a precise diagnosis.

It is distressing to admit it, but a good many women still die, like Mukaddas Turakulova, because of physicians, because of their negligence, because of their unwillingness to perform their duties as conscientiously as they know how to receive their earnings. Most likely, yet another reason lies in the impunity of those whose victims are often uncomplaining people, people who pay for that at the highest price—their own life.

Another dismal phenomenon. In any rayon of Surkhaniya Oblast one can hear about how many women give birth at home. For example, in Baysunskiy Rayon, in 1987 497 of 1,159 children were born at home, which amounts to 45 percent of all children born in the rayon. It is scary just to imagine: about 500 women served as

their own midwives. Two of them could not help themselves and died. And two infants never saw the light of day, either! A 14-year-old girl from Denau, who lost her mother through the fault of doctors, was unable to get justice locally and wanted to complain to Moscow.

I can say with certainty that the cause of these misfortunes lies in the poor quality of medical care in the countryside. For example, Leninsky Rayon holds first place in the oblast in terms of the birth rate and infant mortality. There are 72.1 deaths per 1,000 infants. That is much higher than the infant mortality rate for the country as a whole. I am not mentioning those who die at birth.

What sort of medical care does the oblast health department provide to these rayons?

"We have set up 24-hour care," says R. Mukhammadiyeva, deputy chief of the health department. "And we also have 24-hour pharmacies. For example, when a natural disaster occurred in Gagarinskiy Rayon, our group was on the spot exactly an hour after the report came in with a full array of the necessary medicines."

"What do you think about M. Turakulova's death?"

"The local doctors are to blame for that. They did not ask us for help. I cannot speak of any sort of treatment; there simply was none. The cause of death was not established. They never summoned medical experts."

A visiting council of the oblast health department was held in the rayon. The chief physicians of all the polyclinics and their deputies and division heads were invited. Participants in the council were acquainted with the story of M. Turakulova's illness and reached the conclusion that her death was directly the fault of the doctors. A case against them has been turned over to the procurator's office. Administrative measures have also been taken: the hospital chief physician has received a strict admonishment, and K. Khayitnazarov has been removed from his post as division head. It is strange that not a single word was spoken about the district physician to whom M. Turakulova initially appealed. And the gynecologist? Mukaddas had been to see him back in August of last year!

In short, there is evidence of extremely poor work on the part of rural medical institutions, but this disgrace does not bother anyone. Some executives show up in villages only after the latest accident. They punish, draw up official documents and—leave.

There are 47 villages in the rayon. Each of them has its own feldsher-midwife station, but their personnel keep no records on mothers-to-be and conduct no medical examinations.

"Another thing you must write about without fail," one of the women lying in the hospital urgently asked. "Expectant mothers here perform strenuous work in the fields until the last day, because the executives do not even think about shifting them to light work. And we cannot even dream about maternity leave."

There are presently four hospitals in the rayon, and the number of sick people is double the number of beds. The buildings need repairs. The basements are flooded with ground water. And in some wards the water is seeping through the floor. There is no running water or sewerage.

Also distressing is the fact that it is not just recently, or even relatively recently, that rural medical institutions have found themselves in such a wretched state. The rayon was established in 1973. And the central hospital started operating in the building of the old rural polyclinic. Was this conceivably sufficient for a rayon with a population of 55,000? But this does not bother either the rayon deputies, or its executives, or key officials at the oblast health department.

Yet the rayon is one of the first in the oblast in terms of its economic indicators and has adequate money.

Can it be that we will be pleased by the long-range plan for public health?

"In the 13th Five-Year Plan we plan to build two hospitals. The designs for them are being drawn up at the present time," says Marziya Ismailova, secretary of the party rayon.

"It is known from official sources that your rayon holds last place in the oblast in terms of medical care. Are you taking any steps to improve work?"

"We have a good many problems whose solution does not depend on us. If it were up to me, I would have started construction of a children's hospital this year. After all, summer has begun, and the number of patients, especially children, is growing. And we are forced to set up folding beds in the halls—there are not enough beds."

It has been six months now since a commission from Moscow closed the maternity division. After that it was moved to the first floor in the gynecology division. You can imagine how the situation deteriorated. The rooms for newborns are absolutely overflowing—there are two infants per bed. Sanitation and hygiene regulations are not being observed. No one can say why repairs on the maternity division have dragged out for more than five months now. Can it be that executives of the appropriate higher offices will answer this question?

One more problem: The construction of a new maternity hospital was planned for this year. And adequate funds were allocated. But the republic Ministry of Health rejected the design for the construction of a 60-bed maternity hospital. In their view the smallest maternity

hospital should have 120 beds. That may be right: after all, at the present time 40-bed hospitals usually accommodate twice to three times as many women. So wouldn't it be better to build a maternity hospital in accordance with demand? But we would like for the oblast health department and oblispolkom to stop putting off the solution of this important problem indefinitely. After all, life does not stand still.

Restructuring is taking place in the country. In our republic, as everywhere, increased attention is being given to the construction of cultural, consumer-service and medical facilities. The protection of people's health is assuming broad social importance. But the state of medical service in Leninsky Rayon (just as in Dnaukskiy and Baysunskiy rayons) absolutely fails to meet today's requirements.

In leaving the rayon, I remembered Mukaddas. What helplessness that young woman must have felt, realizing that for the people in the white coats her life was an empty trifle for which they received their earnings but bore no responsibility whatsoever.

8756

Georgian MVD Restructures Investigation Apparatus

18000509a Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
3 Jun 88 p 6

[Article by Shota Gorgodze, GeSSR minister of internal affairs: "The Individual and the Law": "An Experiment With Radical Restructuring of the Operations of the Investigative Apparatus Has Begun Within the MVD System"]

[Text] One of the fundamentally new points in the CPSU Central Committee's Theses at the 19th All-Union Party Conference was an orientation toward the creation of a socialist legal state, the most basic characteristic of which is the supremacy and sanctity of the law, which expresses the will of the people. Now during this period of preparations for major legal reform in our country the thesis that judges, procurators and investigators should be completely free from any sort of pressure or interference as they perform their duties has assumed particular significance. Reading further in the Theses we find that: "A decisive increase in the militia's responsibility for the fight against crime and violations of the public order should help strengthen law and order..."

Realizing the tremendous importance of these requirements, and in view of the pressing need for a radical improvement of all aspects of militia operations, in particular the work of the investigative apparatus, the leadership of the GeSSR MVD resolved to begin an experiment and radically restructure the structure of that apparatus.

In recent years there has been substantial improvement in the basic indices of investigative work. However, we must self-critically acknowledge that quite a few serious shortcomings and negative phenomena remain in the operations of the investigative apparatus. In order to eradicate them more successfully the decision was made in mid-February of this year to initiate an experiment involving centralization of all investigative work within the system of republic internal affairs organs.

What is the nature of this experiment?

Let me begin by saying that all investigative departments were removed from the jurisdiction of the MVDs of the Abkhaz ASSR and the Adzhar ASSR, as well as from the Internal Affairs Administration of the South Ossetian AO. The same thing was done in city and rayon internal affairs organs. In this way independent inter-rayon divisions and departments were set up under the direct supervision of the GeSSR MVD's Investigative Administration.

Significant changes were also made in the structure of investigative subdepartments. Instead of the previous 81 subdepartments there are now only 31. Organization of investigative subdepartments on the basis of their geographical location, communication facilities, the availability of transportation, etc. permit the realization of guidance of and departmental procedural control over the work of each investigator. The republic MVD's Investigative Administration has, in addition to its investigative section, an Organizational Department, which replaces the former Control-Methodological Department. The organizational department consists of groups for information, analysis and planning, regional investigations, cases involving cooperation with the militia with regard to apprehension of suspects and with the organs engaged in the struggle against embezzlement of socialist property and speculation; the latter render practical and methodological assistance at the local level with the uncovering and investigation of the most complex multiple crimes. The decision was made to dissolve the mid-level control-methodological apparatuses within the Abkhaz ASSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the city of Tbilisi; the investigative department of the Internal Affairs Administration of the Tbilisi Gorispolkom has been left in place as a working apparatus for the investigation of complex cases of an inter-rayon nature and of cases which fall under the jurisdiction of the Tbilisi City Court.

The staff structure of investigative departments has also been reorganized, without any change in the number of investigative personnel. Due to the fact that recently investigators who had reached retirement age have been released from republic internal affairs organs we now have vacancies. These will be filled with graduates from the VUZes of the USSR MVD and the Law Department of Tbilisi State University.

The republic MVD Investigative Administration has drawn up and published standardizing acts for the period of the experiment; these were reviewed by our staff at branch meetings, with accounts of those meetings

subsequently submitted to us. Strict monitoring has been established over investigators' visits to crime scenes, timely filing of cases and the status of cases, concerning which the watch service of the republic MVD submits a memorandum in its daily summary of crimes and incidents.

A well-designed monitoring system and proper organization of interaction between investigative and operative personnel in the apprehension of suspects helped in catching an organized 12-person armed gang which has for several years engaged in assaults on citizens for the purpose of robbery. The investigation into this case has already revealed a substantial number of armed robberies committed by this gang, from members of which seven firearms and a large quantity of ammunition were confiscated, as well as stolen goods and valuables worth over 50,000 rubles. In addition, 13 cases which had previously been closed due to failure to apprehend any suspects were reopened. At the present time this large case is still undergoing investigation, with the objective of establishing further instances of robbery and contacting other victims.

The same can be said about the interaction between investigators and the staff of the organs engaged in the struggle against embezzlement of socialist property and speculation. In this respect the focus of attention is not merely on the need to convict all the guilty parties, but also on the need to make full compensation for the material damages incurred; the latter is currently one of the weakest points in the struggle against embezzlement crimes. Specifically, as a result of joint investigative and apprehension measures taken with regard to the case of personnel at the Sachkheriskiy Rayon Industrial Combine (under the GeSSR Ministry of Local Industry) and Armazi Store (under the Tsekavshiri System) the following items of value were impounded: various fabric goods worth over 470,000 rubles and cash in the sum of 164,000 rubles. This provided full compensation for the damages incurred by the state.

I would like to go into a little more detail about the way this experiment with restructuring of the investigative service was prepared and how it is being conducted; I think this will be of interest to readers. Back in March our ministry newspaper *BOYEVOY STRAZH* published an article outlining in detail the goals and tasks of the investigation experiment. The Investigative Administration, in conjunction with the ministry's Political Department, did a great deal of organizational work aimed at informing not only investigators, but also the entire staff of the republic MVD of the meaning of the experiment and the tasks that it would involve. In all the structural subdepartments of our system open meetings of party and Komsomol members were held; there the proposed task was discussed in detail. The ministry's Political

Department and political workers at the local level took steps to improve the party's presence among investigative apparatus staff members and to improve their cadre composition. Whereas on 1 January of this year the party element in the investigative service staff was 67.4 percent, it is currently 76 percent. These and a number of other measures have helped improve discipline. Whereas during the first four months of last year 35 investigators were punished for violations of discipline, only five have been similarly punished during the corresponding period this year.

In practical terms the reorganized GeSSR MVD investigative apparatus actually got started on the experiment in April of this year. Here are the basic indices on investigative work thus far: there has not been a single case of false arrest, detention or conviction of citizens, and none of the individuals brought to trial has been acquitted; there has been improvement in the quality of criminal investigations, and this has resulted in a reduction of the number of cases returned for further investigation from 3.1 percent to 2.7 percent; there has been a decrease in the number of cases not investigated within the established time limits, from eight percent last year to 6.8 percent today, with most current violations of time limits occurring in connection with multiple crimes or complex cases; and there has been a drop in the number of complaints received concerning preliminary investigations, from 652 during a five-month period last year (41 of these repeat complaints) to 493 during the same period this year (36 repeat complaints). However, we must of course admit that we are still receiving a large number of complaints from citizens, and some of them are well-founded. But restructuring of our investigative operations is only just beginning, and we hope that by the end of this year restructuring will begin yielding some more substantial positive results.

The reason for our confidence that that will happen is the fact that we have achieved a substantial reduction in crime in our republic through apprehension of suspects and have improved our rate of crime solving. Operational investigative groups have been set up to deal with the many unsolved crimes of the current year and of previous years; these groups function according to special flexible-search plans.

Now that we have informed the people of our republic of the beginning of this major job of improving the operations of the GeSSR MVD's investigative service we promise to provide citizens with systematic information on the status of this experiment and of our work toward attainment of the principal objectives set forth by the party; all-round strengthening of socialist rule of law and law and order under conditions of consistent democratization and glasnost.

12825

Armenian 1st Secretary's 25 July Talk With Leninakan Citizens

18300427a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
27 Jul 88 p 1

[Armenpress report entitled: "Meetings with the Workers of Leninakan"]

[Text] S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, who was in Leninakan on 25 July, had meetings and talks with the city's working people. During these meetings and talks there was a thorough discussion of the state of affairs in the city and the problems that have come to a head and which are bothering people acutely. S.G. Arutyunyan answered the numerous questions of the working people and spoke in detail about the effort that has begun in the Armenian CP Central Committee to normalize the situation, to remove the obstructions that have built up along the road of restructuring in the republic. The participants in the meetings expressed confidence that the decree adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Nagornyy Karabakh is a document of great political importance and opens up the right way toward faster development of the oblast and a strengthening of fraternal relations among neighboring republics and among all the peoples of our country.

A gray-haired old woman, Sh. Oganesyanyan, mother of a large family, came up to S.G. Arutyunyan in one of the streets: "I am already over 80," she said. "I have lived through many trials in my long life. And friendship and solidarity have always been our reliable aid. As a mother, I want my children to live in peace and fraternity. That is why I warmly approve the words of M.S. Gorbachev to the effect that we must all strengthen brotherhood with our own hands."

S. Pogosyan, war and labor veteran, entered the conversation:

"The forces which oppose restructuring do not want to give up their positions. We have been fighting them mainly with slogans. Right now in our city they are speaking openly about bribery to obtain enrollment in Leninakan's VUZes. Has the time not come to move from words to concrete steps? I feel that we need to wage a serious and decisive fight against things which are wrong."

The veteran's words did not pass unnoticed and were vigorously supported by S.G. Arutyunyan. The attention of the Leninakan Party Gorkom was called to the need to step up the fight against things that are wrong. On these matters, party committees must take a more active stance.

The statement made by S. Akopyan, a worker, was also listened to attentively:

"We are a working family. Total money earnings exceed 800 rubles. But it has become difficult to make ends meet. And all because in the stores they frequently overcharge us and give us short weight, and the prices are

high at the market. Quite often we have to give in to the speculators. How long is this going to go on?"

The questions raised by the working people had to do with the most diverse problems—interruptions in the supply of meat and sugar to the city, the neglected state of the roads, the poor operation of public transport, the free-and-easy life of the speculators. But everything came down to one thing: there has been enough confinement to general criticism of shortcomings, the specific culprits have to be found and strictly brought to account.

"No one is permitted to turn rubles earned by honest labor into the income of certain operators not derived from work," S.G. Arutyunyan agreed. "We must reveal the causes of these vicious things out loud and turn the whole world against them."

That same day, S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, visited the Leninakan Cotton Production Association imeni Mayskoye Vosstaniye. He looked into the living and working conditions of the textile workers and progress in carrying out the program for improvement of production and socioeconomic development. In one of the shops of the association's finishing mill he had a meaningful and frank discussion with workers and specialists. I. Babayan, spinning frame operator, K. Simonyan, chief of the dye house, K. Mitrofanova, packer, L. Muradyan, repairman, and others spoke about the glorious worker traditions of the enterprise, about the origins which brought together representatives of 17 nationalities in today's collective, about the specific tasks which the textile workers have outlined in order to intensify cost accounting (khozraschet), independence, and responsibility and to expand the possibilities for the radical economic reform.

"We have quite a few examples of firm friendship and cooperation with colleagues in related enterprises of the country," A. Aguzumtsyan, the association's general director, emphasized. "It is these examples which today must serve as our guiding light in restructuring what we do and in normalizing the situation in the collective. A vigorous explanatory effort is now being made in the association in connection with the decree on Nagornyy Karabakh adopted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Its discussion in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet vividly demonstrates that when a judicious and principled approach is taken, it is possible to find a solution to the most complicated problems. Our duty now is to make up what has been lost in the course of the recent strikes. We promise to apply all our energies to making up our debt to related enterprises even in the 3d quarter."

These words were unanimously supported by all those who took part in the discussion. The textile workers assured S.G. Arutyunyan that their collective, numbering many thousands, along with all the workers of the republic, firmly support the course of the CPSU Central Committee to accelerate the process of restructuring and to broadly democratize all aspects of the life of society.

S.G. Arutyunyan had high praise for the contribution of the association's workers and specialists to the republic's economic development and emphasized the growing importance of political maturity, initiative, and responsible approach of everyone in the fight for a radical change of direction in the way things are done. Today, we all of us have a single task—to work in the new way, to act vigorously, to adhere to principle, and to be responsible. Only in that way is it possible to achieve real success in restructuring.

S.G. Arutyunyan was accompanied by V.Ya. Gerasimenko, instructor of the Department for the Party Organizational Effort of the CPSU Central Committee, R.Ya. Akopyan, head of the Department for the Party Organizational Effort of the Armenian CP Central Committee, and M.L. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Leninakan Gorkom of the Armenian CP.

07045

Armenian 1st Secretary Arutyunyan Addresses Leninakan Gorkom

18300427b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
27 Sept 88 p 2

[Armenpress report entitled: "To Act Energetically, Insistently"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the plenum of the Leninakan Gorkom of the Armenian CP met to take up organizational matters.

The plenum relieved D.A. Arutyunyan of his duties as first secretary and member of the Buro of the Leninakan Party Gorkom because of his retirement.

M.L. Mkrtchyan, who had been first secretary of the Akhuryanskiy Rayon Committee of the Armenian CP, was elected first secretary and member of the Buro of the Leninakan Gorkom of the Armenian CP.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

The participants in the plenum analyzed the state of affairs in the city from positions based on principle, exposed the most acute and urgent problems, and defined the tasks of party members and all the working people of Leninakan in intensification of restructuring in the light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU. They pointed to the significant shortcomings in the activity of the party's gorkom and raykoms and primary party organizations, which are continuing to operate with the old methods, are having little impact on the situation in work collectives, and have not achieved decisive changes in people's attitudes and behavior.

In the statements of Kh. Sukiasyan, head of the Social Security Department of the Leninakan City Soviet of People's Deputies; T. Sarkisyan, first secretary of the Moskovskiy Party Raykom; M. Aguzumtsyan, secretary of the party gorkom; S. Petrosyan, first secretary of the Shirakskiy Party Raykom; K. Ovsepyan, rector of Leninakan Pedagogic Institute imeni M. Nalbandyan; K. Ambartsumyan, director of a construction tekhnikum; K. Sarkisyan, spinning frame operator in the Cotton Production Association imeni Mayskoye Vosstaniye; A. Kirakosyan, director of the Spinning Mill imeni Lukeshin; E. Kirakosyan, chairman of the ispolkom of the Leninakan City Soviet; and M. Mkrtchyan, first secretary of the Leninakan Party Gorkom, pursued a single theme: there has to be a radical change in the way things are done. The meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the issue of Nagornyy Karabakh has become a lesson in the businesslike and judicious approach to the complicated problems of our time and in the ability to give maximum consideration to all opinions expressed and on that basis to work out a principled and constructive solution. The theme of this lesson is this: under the most complicated conditions action must be taken from the positions of restructuring, from the positions of the party's general course as defined by the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

Today, we all have an important and painstaking effort ahead, it was noted at the plenum, in bringing to every party member and every working person the essence and importance of the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet entitled "On the Decisions of the ArSSR and AzSSR Supreme Soviets on the Issue of Nagornyy Karabakh." The fundamental directions of this effort were pointed out in the decree of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee held a few days ago. It noted that the exceedingly important political document adopted according to the results of an examination of every aspect offers the correct solution to the issue and is in line with the fundamental interests of the peoples of both republics and the interests of all the Soviet people. The decree of the Presidium and the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, provided principled evaluations of the situation that has come about in ArSSR and AzSSR in connection with the events in the NKAO and defined the real ways of stabilizing it and of getting out of the blind alley that has been created. The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers have outlined major steps to guarantee further development of the economy and culture, a rise in the prosperity of the working people of the NKAO, and a strengthening of socialist legality, and the necessary prerequisites have been brought about for expansion of relations of the NKAO with the Armenian SSR.

The best and most correct response of the working people of Leninakan and of the entire republic to the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, it was said at the plenum, is strenuous creative labor and a persistent search for additional unused potential, which will help to make up what has been lost. After all, quite

a bit has to be made up. In recent weeks, at times because of the instigation of irresponsible persons, a number of production operations were shut down, and many people were observed leaving work, and the city's industry fell short nearly 9 million rubles in its output. The strenuous pace of production which the workers had adopted with great effort was disrupted, discipline was upset, and the moral-psychological atmosphere in collectives was undermined, which had an extremely adverse effect on the entire course of restructuring and democratization of all aspects of life.

All of this became possible because party organizations were unable under the extreme conditions to get people behind them and to restrain them from thoughtless actions. Many still have not mastered the methods of political work in the present situation, the ability to act on the basis of glasnost and democracy, and are continuing to approach the cause from conservative positions. At a number of places the profound causes of the holding back have not been overcome, and mechanisms of renewal have not been fully implemented. Few vigorous and militant leaders who have organizational experience, knowledge, and competence are being advanced to head party organizations. Sluggishness, irresponsibility, and adherence to the office style of leadership were manifested with particular distinctness in the difficult days of July, when the party aktiv turned out to be detached from the masses, unable to control the complicated processes that had shaken work collectives, were unable by force of their authority and the unity of their words and deeds to cut short the unwholesome tendencies and quickly guide people onto the right road.

Important conclusions have to be drawn today from those oversights. Those party members who were superficial in their approach to evaluating the situation that came about and who did not become aware in good time of the political danger of the thoughtless appeals and slogans and the pressure exerted by rallies on work collectives and who took a passive and waiting position have to be brought to account most exactly. The time has come for a firm awareness: wherever party members show indifference and let the initiative slip away, forces opposed to restructuring begin to win out.

A process of becoming aware of this important conclusion has already begun at this point. People no longer believe the inciters and the irresponsible appeals. But this is only the first step. Party organizations and councils of work collectives should create all the conditions possible so that every worker can work with high efficiency and with the highest productivity. Today, this is the paramount political task, and its performance will not only make it possible to completely recover the pace of work in all sectors of the economy, but also to strengthen the international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers.

A very great deal depends here on the new approaches of party committees. It was emphasized at the plenum that the party gorkom and raykoms must come face to face

with party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and managers in the economy, must fundamentally alter the style and methods of their entire effort, and must act vigorously and energetically in the spirit of the requirements of restructuring, deepening glasnost and democracy, expanding the opportunities for the radical economic reform.

People judge the real fruits of restructuring above all according to improvement of their own living and working conditions, according to the real changes in the sphere of social welfare. They render very strict judgments; after all, today they have a keener sense of the social justice and of their own dignity, and they see more thoroughly the mistakes and oversights that have built up, and they are more firmly determined that there should be fewer deficiencies.

The conclusions at present are not consoling: with respect to the level and scale of development of the sphere of social welfare Leninakan has fallen among the poorest cities in the republic. The housing problem remains a bottleneck. The comprehensive "housing" program threatens to fall short: 130,000 square meters are supposed to be activated annually, but the result is half as much. The city is also underestimating such an effective factor as construction of housing by the direct-labor method—only 4 enterprises out of 36 have undertaken this new effort during this year.

A large lag has occurred in construction of preschool and school institutions and health care and consumer service facilities. Both in the level of water supply and in the rates of development of municipal services and telephone service Leninakan is lagging considerably behind the republic averages. The performance of medical institutions, especially prevention and treatment of children's diseases, has been evoking serious reproaches from the inhabitants.

Repairs for housing and household appliances, tailoring, dressmaking, and shoemaking, and freight delivery are still a problem difficult to solve. These problems are further compounded by the social welfare infrastructure of the city, which was not well-thought-through, since the basic service facilities are concentrated in the center, not in the new microrayons.

The working people have addressed warranted complaints against law enforcement agencies, which have been waging an unsatisfactory fight against antisocial phenomena, bribery, speculation, and the stealing of state property, and they have not been reacting to the growing complaints about the low quality of bread and meat and dairy products.

Everything concerning people must be at the center of attention of the party gorkom and primary party organizations, it was noted at the plenum. Attention must be turned to man, and the entire effort made must be subordinated to his interests. The plenum commissioned

the Buro of the Leninakan Party Gerkom and primary party organizations to develop a vigorous and energetic effort to solve the problems of social development, to normalize the moral and ethical atmosphere in the city, to mobilize all the forces of the working people to perform the tasks set by the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

07045

Armenian Buro Blasts Performance of Yerevan, Kirovakan Officials

18300432a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
14 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed report entitled: "In the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee has held its regular meeting.

It took up the question of serious shortcomings in the work of the party raykom in Rayon imeni 26 Komissarov in the city of Yerevan. The Buro of the Central Committee noted that the party raykom and its own Buro (Comrade A. Oganessian, first secretary of the raykom) had not seen to the restructuring of the activity of primary party organizations, had not achieved changes in the sociopolitical life of the rayon, had been unable to guide party members and working people toward performance of the urgent socioeconomic tasks.

The rayon's industry has not been meeting contractual obligations for deliveries over the last 1.5 years, construction organizations have chronically failed to activate fixed capital and housing, and the retooling of production has been going at a slow pace.

The rayon party committee's commitment to questions of social welfare has been extremely unsatisfactory. Many acute and painful problems in the social sphere have remained unresolved. More than 7,000 people are waiting for housing, including 650 families who have been waiting for 15-20 years; the number of those who need improved housing has reached 30,000. At the same time, plans for housing construction go unfulfilled year after year, and during last year activation of housing was at a level of only 29 percent. In 1987 and the 1st half of 1988, plans for capital construction were not fulfilled for municipal service facilities, public education, trade, and urban amenities. The public health situation is unsatisfactory in many areas, there are shortcomings in the repair of dwellings and in the supply of heat and power. There have been significant oversights in development of enterprises in the service sector. Breaches of the rules of Soviet trade in the rayon have been widespread, and the supply of sales floor area has been below the standard allowance. The trade in vegetables is in a neglected state. Prices have risen on the kolkhoz market.

The raykom has displayed the campaign and formal bureaucratic approach to the restructuring of the ideological effort. Poor use is made of the intellectual and creative potential of the scientific institutions, educational institutions, and creative unions in the rayon. Due importance is not being attributed to the problems of international and patriotic indoctrination.

The party raykom and many primary party organizations, given the situation that came about in the republic in connection with the events in Nagorny Karabakh, displayed utter unsoundness, were unable to get people behind them and to avert thoughtless actions. The strike movement was most widespread in this rayon. During the strike, output fell short 3.6 million rubles, and construction fell short 1.2 million rubles. Worker wages alone fell short 2 million rubles. In February-July 1988 the raykom did not adopt a single decision that offered a fundamental evaluation of the situation that had come about, of the activity of primary party organizations or of the position of personnel in positions of leadership.

The Armenian CP Central Committee has repeatedly called attention of the party raykom to the shortcomings in industry, construction, and social services, in the activity of scientific and creative organizations, and to the need to give up the office style of operation. But the Buro of the raykom and its first secretary were unable to achieve restructuring of the work of party organizations and work collectives, increased responsibility of personnel and all party members for performing the tasks that have been set. What is more, Comrade A. Oganessian was uncritical in evaluating the situation that came about in the rayon. Lack of initiative, complacency, liberalism, and a low level of responsibility to the people for solving the problems that had accumulated in social development and in normalization of the ideological and ethical atmosphere were features in the raykom's work style. A less exacting attitude was taken toward supervisory personnel. The result of all this was that in recent years party leadership of various areas of the rayon's life was weakened considerably.

Because of serious shortcomings in the work of guiding the process of restructuring, a lack of principle, a low level of organizational and political performance, which have resulted in a loss of prestige and militance on the part of many primary party organizations, a strict reprimand that will go into the record has been pronounced against Comrade A. Oganessian, first secretary of the party committee of Rayon imeni 26 Komissarov. His continuation in that position was deemed impossible.

It was recommended that the party committee of Rayon imeni 26 Komissarov make a thorough and self-critical analysis of the situation that has come about and of the course of restructuring in the rayon party organization. The necessary steps were taken to correct the serious shortcomings and oversights noted and to reestablish a wholesome moral-political atmosphere in the rayon to

mobilize all party members and working people to carry out the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Yerevan Party Gorkom and departments of the Armenian CP Central Committee were ordered to extend aid to the party committee of Rayon imeni 26 Komissarov in the radical improvement of its performance and in correcting the shortcomings that have been noted.

The performance of production associations and enterprises in light industry in the context of state acceptance was discussed. It was noted that party organizations and economic managers of certain enterprises in the sector have under the conditions of state product acceptance taken specific steps to apply new equipment and progressive technology, to produce products with improved performance characteristics, and to restructure the work of economic and technical departments.

At the same time, the introduction of state acceptance has revealed that the performance of party organizations and economic managers of enterprises is not meeting the requirements of a radical improvement of product quality. The present system of remuneration and of financial and nonfinancial worker incentive is not clearly linked to product quality. In the effort to improve product quality, engineering and technical personnel have had a diminished role, and not enough advantage is being taken of the broad opportunities of the new economic mechanism, the brigade contract, and cost accounting (khozraschet).

One of the main causes of the production of poor-quality products of light industry is the low level of organizational and political effort of party committees, which have not restructured their work effectively.

The Collegium of the ArSSR Ministry of Light Industry has not been providing effective assistance to work collectives operating under the conditions of state acceptance and lagging enterprises, nor has it achieved fulfillment of the assignments of the comprehensive program for development of production of consumer goods.

The party organizations and managers of enterprises in the republic's light industry have been ordered to draft and carry out comprehensive measures to radically improve product quality, to raise production efficiency on the basis of broad introduction of new equipment and progressive manufacturing processes, to strengthen work discipline and technological discipline, to tighten the responsibility of personnel, to take fuller advantage of the opportunities offered by the economic mechanism and by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

The Armenian Republic Administration of USSR Gosstandart should tighten the responsibility of state acceptance components for correct adherence to technological parameters, prompt application and strict observance of

standards, see to the coordination of the activity of state acceptance components and work collectives aimed at achieving high indicators for the quality and the industrial design of products.

Rayon and city party committees were ordered to increase the responsibility of primary party organizations, enterprise managers, and specialists for restructuring the effort to radically improve quality and to see that it becomes the norm in the everyday life of work collectives and a direct duty of every worker and engineering and technical personnel.

The Buro of the Central Committee discussed the question of serious shortcomings in the work of the Kirovakan Knitwear Production Association. It noted that the leadership and party committee of the production association (Comrade S. Gasparyan, general director, and Comrade R. Ayvazyan, secretary of the party committee) have been performing their duties unsatisfactorily and have not become organizers of restructuring at the enterprise, which has resulted in systematic failure to meet planning targets. The association's party organization has not been achieving a rise in the work effort and political activity of members of the collective, the vanguard role of party members in the fight to raise production efficiency and to solve social problems. The activity of the management and execution of the decisions made has not been monitored. The political effort, organizational effort, and ideological indoctrination have been on a low level in the collective.

The association's leadership and party committee have not been analyzing the causes of the situation that has come about, nor have they taken specific steps to correct them. As a consequence, planning targets have not been fulfilled this year either. A particularly serious situation came about in the association in July. Party and economic leaders of the association proved unable to counteract the instigational elements and to prevent strikes. Some 13,600 man-days were lost between 5 and 15 July because of failure to report to work, and as a consequence 690,000 pieces of knitwear were not produced, or half of the monthly plan.

The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee has relieved Comrade S. Gasparyan of his duties as general director of the Kirovakan Knitwear Production Association because of unsatisfactory management of the association's collective and the serious shortcomings in his work, which led to the failure to fulfill planning targets and the grave financial and economic condition. It was made known that a strict reprimand was pronounced against him by decision of the Buro of the Kirovakan City Party Committee.

The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee pronounced a strict reprimand against Comrade R. Ayvazyan, secretary of the party committee of the Kirovakan Knitwear Production Association, for the low level of political and organizational effort and ideological indoctrination of the party committee and shop party

organizations, the lack of the proper exactingness toward party members, and unsatisfactory monitoring of execution of decisions taken.

The Buro of the Central Committee called upon the party committee and management of the association to thoroughly and comprehensively analyze the causes that led to the grave financial and economic condition of the collective and to take essential steps to correct them. To stage an effective effort to increase the people's political activity and work effort, to mobilize the collective to fight to eradicate mismanagement, and to strengthen discipline and order.

The Kirovakan Party Gorkom and the republic's Ministry of Light Industry were ordered to draft and carry out specific measures to lead the association's collective out of the breach, to see to its normal operation, and to immediately solve the problems that exist there. To concentrate the collective's energies on laying a sound foundation for successful fulfillment of planning targets, for solving social problems, and for implementing the principles of the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee took up questions related to improvement of the organization of trade and the service sector. A commission was created headed by F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the ArSSR Council of Ministers, which was ordered to take urgent steps to bring about order in the organization of trade and the service sector.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, and ministries and departments were ordered to draft measures to sharply increase the volume of output of goods and services which are in great demand, to seek out additional space for the organization of trade, consumer services, and medical service, above all by transferring to these areas space occupied by administrative departments.

The session of the Buro took up the question of holding city and rayon teachers' conferences between 24 and 30 August 1988 in order to discuss in their plenary meetings the results of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the tasks of pedagogical staffs and public education authorities in the restructuring of public education.

Decisions were also taken on other issues in the republic's socioeconomic and cultural life.

07045

Yerevan Gorkom Head on Proposed Cooperation With NKAO

18300432b Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
14 Aug 88 p 2

[Interview with M.S. Minasbekyan, first secretary of the Yerevan Party Gorkom of the Armenian CP, by N. Melikyan and M. Markaryan: "Yerevan—Nagorny Karabakh: Cooperation Is Expanding"; date and place not given]

[Text] Work collectives of the capital of Soviet Armenia are taking an active part in implementing the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers

on measures to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the period 1988-1995. These initiatives are aimed at the speediest solution of the oblast's social and economic problems and at boosting cultural life in the oblast. On the basis of numerous and varied proposals received from the local level, an integral program of steps has been drafted in the Yerevan Gorkom of the Armenian CP. We called upon Comrade M.S. Minasbekyan, first secretary of the Yerevan Gorkom of the Armenian CP, to tell about the principal content of the program.

[Question] How did the idea arise of drawing up such a program?

[Answer] The workers of the capital have responded energetically to the decisions of the party and government to speed up the socioeconomic development of Nagorny Karabakh. Going out to meet the desires of work collectives, these numerous proposals were systematized by spheres and stated specifically in the party gorkom, and at meetings held recently of city and rayon party-soviet activists the decision was made to implement these proposals in practice.

[Question] We would like to know what place has been given in the large number of measures to those promoting an economic upsurge in the oblast. After all, we know of difficulties that came about in this sphere which in turn became a specific cause of the aggravation of the situation.

[Answer] As a matter of fact, as noted in the well-known decree, a trend toward lower social production and industrial output has been observed recently in the oblast. The measures drafted by the party and government are aimed at comprehensive development of the productive forces of the NKAO. The working people of our city have also expressed a willingness to help their countrymen in Nagorny Karabakh—to speed up implementation of these measures.

It is difficult to enumerate all the initiatives taken by the people of Yerevan. More than 150 work collectives submitted a large number of diverse proposals, a substantial portion of which were aimed at promoting economic improvement of the oblast. We should note that the measures are not exclusively concerned with economic tasks. A large place has also been given to the problems of developing culture, education, health care, and science.

[Question] We would like to know what questions of a social nature are reflected in the program.

[Answer] It should be said that the people of Yerevan have approached this question with particular care and sensitivity. A large place is being given above all to promoting the design and construction of housing, cultural and educational institutions, health care facilities, and restoration of historical monuments. It might be

said that practical steps have already been taken in this direction by construction crews of university students.

Certain collectives made specific proposals to help in widening and landscaping highways and also furnishing rural gas service.

[Question] Perhaps you are singling out the most important measures.

[Answer] I would like to stress once again that they are all important and valuable. Take just the initiative of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Radiophysical Measurements to set up in the oblast an antenna site where an antenna with a diameter of 16 meters would be set up to observe the sun and stars, which has importance to the national economy and to medicine.

The Armenian Republic Diagnostic Center, the only one in the country, has proposed a valuable service to the workers in the oblast—to open a diagnostic station in Stepanakert. Other Yerevan health care institutions are also organizing help as to methods and practical assistance.

The well-known decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the speeches of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev have given a particular place to invigoration of the intellectual and cultural life of the NKAO and to satisfying the demands of the working people in accordance with the requirements of restructuring and the new way of thinking. This, of course, has to do with the problem of ethnic identity and also establishment and development of relations between Nagornyy Karabakh and Soviet Armenia. We would like to note in this respect that the program of measures gives a special place to intellectual and cultural relations with the Armenian population of Karabakh. This pertains first of all to the steps that will be taken to improve public education. It is no secret that quite a few difficulties have built up along the road toward organizing instruction in the Armenian schools of the oblast and also improvement of their plant and equipment. The proposals made by the educational workers of Yerevan will, of course, help to overcome those difficulties. Extensive assistance as to methods will first of all be given to local pedagogical collectives. Solid support will be given to the schools in the oblast in the form of publication and shipment of textbooks and literature on methods, which the relevant organizations have already undertaken. Our VUZ's will also be training teachers for the NKAO.

As for cultural relations, they will be diverse in nature, beginning with mutual trips of artistic companies and ending with scientific conferences devoted to historical and cultural questions and other joint measures. For instance, the Armenian Writers Union intends this very fall to hold in Karabakh a 10-day Armenian Literature Festival, and filmmakers are organizing a festival of Armenian films.

A good initiative has been taken by the republic center for children's esthetic education: the collective will help to set up in the city of Stepanakert the same kind of center for esthetic training.

[Question] You recently visited Nagornyy Karabakh. How are they reacting there to the initiatives of the workers in Yerevan?

[Answer] First of all, these proposals have been discussed in the party obkom and oblispolkom—in which the directors of institutions and enterprises took part. New proposals were made and there were revisions. Then the final discussion took place in the office of A.I. Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the party obkom, took part.

We also visited the Stepanakert capacitor and electrical equipment plants. We talked with members of the collectives.

They responded with gratitude to every step of help and assistance from Armenia. But we do not intend to stop there. It is obvious that new proposals will be forthcoming whose implementation will be coordinated by the Yerevan City Party Committee. Individual institutions and enterprises in the capital should not go directly to Nagornyy Karabakh on their own initiative, creating unnecessary difficulties that hinder the general effort.

[Question] What are your best impressions of Nagornyy Karabakh?

[Answer] In its historical and geographical position and picturesque landscape, Karabakh is a beautiful region, but its people make a stronger impression. The people of Karabakh are good and proud people, real workers; today they are making up what was lost in the restless and strenuous days. At the same time, they are showing an immense interest in the situation in Armenia. It should be noted that with full straightforwardness and honesty of true people of Karabakh they express their dissatisfaction about the ill-advised and unsuitable appeals that at times were made in rallies in Yerevan, which at times contradicted the patriotic aspirations of the Armenian people and its internationalist sentiments. Today, as a matter of fact, both the workers of Armenia and those of Karabakh correctly evaluate the situation that has come about, are showing political good sense and civic maturity, and are taking an active part in all spheres of our social life to speed up the transformation and to turn restructuring into an irreversible process.

The hour of action has now come.

Estonian Activist Stresses Need to Limit Migration

18000527 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview by E. Kekelidze: "Today The Word is More Important than the Brush," with Enn Pyldroos, chairman of the board, EsSSR Union of Artists, 19th Party Conference delegate]

[Text] [Question] Only two months have passed since the joint plenum of the creative unions, which was a strong stimulus for revitalizing the republic's social life. The themes and subjects which not long ago seemed, if not forbidden, then in any case far removed from public debates, are being thoroughly examined today by a most extensive audience. Consider, for example, the result of the idea of republic cost-accounting: for two evenings, its authors and the republic's leading economists debated it, in Estonian and in Russian, in a large hall, where anyone who wished could come and express his point of view. Consider what has happened with the idea of a National Front and what has resulted from the materials of the plenum itself: its participants have held and are holding many meetings with the aktiv and in labor collectives, raising the most urgent questions which interest the people. The republic's entire mass information media are turning to the ideas expressed at the plenum, expressing their own viewpoint, as well as that of their readers, viewers and listeners, and the scope of these opinions is rather broad.

In this connection, I have a question: is this reverse communication which has sprung up making any sorts of corrections, changes or refinements in your attitude toward the plenum's ideas and proposals?

[Answer] I would say so—we did not dream up the questions raised at the plenum. These are questions which people started to ask themselves even back in Brezhnev's time. Lately, they have been asking them with every step. Our service was only that they were formulated as a compact goal and that certain aspects in general were expressed publicly for the first time at the plenum.

Unquestionably, there is a reverse communication—the collective discussions of the plenum results and supportive letters from collectives and individual citizens have become a mass phenomenon. There are also, of course, letters expressing disagreement, yet for some reason they are being sent not to us, but to other addresses. There are also corrections, undoubtedly, but they do not affect the essence.

What is important? The correlation of forces is changing. The people have become more organized and their activities are more goal-oriented. An evolution of views is taking place in our leading circles as well. Of course,

the leaders will also have to undertake certain actions which would prove just how deep this evolution is, but in any case the words they speak are already quite different in many respects.

What seems most alarming and disturbing to me? The varied perception of facts and intentions by different national groups. The problem of inadequate comprehension is not new and has its reasons, but today, in my opinion, it is becoming a threat. I would say that a polarization of opinions is taking place. Under these circumstances, the fact that different audiences hear different information plays a significant role. This problem must be solved more quickly. We must clarify what the problem really is—simply misunderstanding.

[Question] What, in your opinion, can help this?

[Answer] A clear realization of the fact that the situation is complex and efforts to solve it in a positive fashion.

A mass of subtleties and nuances exist which cause anxiety and tension, but there are also more general factors. This was well expressed in the article by sociologists M. and A. Kirkhov, published in OHTULEHT and VECHERNYY TALLIN. There are two levels of interaction in any national and multi-national republic—the nation level and the individual level. We are trying to solve these real problems at the nation level (economic sovereignty, the status of the native language, the respective duties of the republic and the country, etc.). However, these problems reflect, and reflect strongly, on the individual level. The lower the educational and cultural level, the more often the principle questions are gathered together at the everyday layer. This is alarming, but obviously it is impossible to eliminate this phenomenon without changes at the nation level. Apparently, we should start with the greatest problems, which determine all the others.

I would like to add yet another problem. For a long time here the upbringing of internationalism, one of the foundations of our ideology, was interpreted in practice as the assertion of the priority of the Russian language and the Russian people or, in any case, of Russia's leading role. Such an approach is denigrating to all people, including Russians. However, not everyone has realized this. At the individual level this has caused many Estonians to feel opposition to everything Russian, and many Russians, to scorn the culture of smaller nations. This faulty national policy has been the cause of many everyday conflicts. Today much work is needed in order to eliminate the pernicious traces of improperly understood internationalism in people's consciousness.

[Question] The article in VECHERNYY TALLIN is indeed very sensible and provides an accurate orientation point for studying the situation. However, a question arises: how do we observe the interests of both nations within the republic without encroaching? (I am speaking

of two for simplicity's sake, in reference to the entire Russian-speaking population). After all, according to the Constitution, everyone has identical rights.

[Answer] I am firmly convinced that all people as individuals, regardless of nationality, should have equal rights. However, as far as the nation level is concerned, in my opinion, any national culture should take priority in its own natural habitat. The Russian culture should take priority in Russia, the Armenian—in Armenia, and Estonian—in Estonia. I see a pledge of equal rights in this. This is in theory. However, as far as combining all of these interests in practice, there are more questions than answers. In searching for solutions, some poorly considered thoughts and proposals are inevitably advanced. It is quite clear that many of these are expressed in any discussion and fade away in the future. It is very difficult to find the truth. I, for example, disagree with some of my colleagues on many matters, yet we must seek the correct answers.

[Question] What, in your opinion, is the most central question?

[Answer] The question of regulating migration: everything is related to this. Of course, migration processes throughout the world have always existed and always will exist; they are impossible to do without. However, apparently in Estonia it has crossed some sort of threshold, beyond which the Estonian people feel their existence itself threatened.

[Question] The critical mass has been exceeded.

[Answer] Yes. It is absolutely necessary to take the psychology of this small nation, which has always felt itself "on the brink" and very acutely sensed any danger to itself, into account. After all, the question "to be or not to be" has faced our people for millennia. It is in our blood. Today we feel the real threat of becoming a minority in our own land—all the tension comes from this.

How can we reduce the critical mass? This is the big question. It is quite obvious that it must be done democratically.

[Question] How can immigration be democratically restricted? Of course, one would have to resort to administrative measures, this is clear. The residence permit in itself is a undemocratic institution, but restricting residence permits is a double violation of democracy. Evidently, however, it would come to this, as it did in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and certain other cities. The question of limiting immigration takes on a national slant in the national republics. It must also be taken into account that we all live in one country and have identical rights.

[Answer] This is unquestionable. Yet democracy includes not only the rights of the individual, but also the rights of the nation. However, I would like to return the subject we spoke of a bit earlier, to the question of the people's psychology. May I?

[Question] Of course.

[Answer] We have not been and are not taking the psychological features of different peoples into account. The methods of conversation and management are identical everywhere. However, for example, studies have shown that the majority of the republic's Russian-speaking population considers the entire country, the entire Soviet Union, its Homeland, yet the overwhelming majority of Estonians, almost 100 percent, consider Estonia their Homeland. These data, incidentally, were also published in your newspaper. After all, does this not indicate something?

[Question] Of course it does. If we wish to achieve understanding in a conversation, these different circumstances should be taken into account. However, in my opinion, it does not mean that we should put a "minus" sign in front of one response and a "plus" by the other. The response "My Homeland is the USSR" is traditional for many and carries no negative connotations whatsoever with respect to one's small homeland and place of residence. Can one draw absolute conclusions from this? Although, I do agree with that, about which the great Russian writers are writing with alarm today—the loss of a sense of the small homeland as the first priority.

[Answer] Then we are agreed that, in any case, this circumstance inspires serious thought.

[Question] We are agreed.

[Answer] So we return to the interrupted thought—to the limitation of migration. Not only do many people come to Estonia, but many also leave. Estonia ends up being some kind of connecting courtyard. In a year the balance is about 8,000 people—weighing in favor of arrivals. If we succeed in reducing immigration even by half, the balance will already tip to the negative.

Another problem, painful, complex and demanding great tact: our migration influx has been occurring for a long time basically due to the loss of Pskov Oblast, of the central region of Russia.

[Question] Yes, Leningrad has also taken many people from that area.

[Answer] These are common problems. Clearly, it is necessary to provide a stimulus for new life in the deserted oblasts. This is also fairly complicated: it is necessary to create conditions and interest for people's return. Do you agree?

[Question] Evidently, you are leading up to Yaan Kaplinskiy's "paid emigration" proposal?

[Answer] And what is your attitude toward it?

[Question] I have already had occasion to state that I regard Kaplinskiy as a poet and not as an economist or sociologist. Accordingly, to me his suggestion is a polemical stimulation of thought and not an economic recommendation. However, in my opinion, it should be noted that in this case, as in certain other situations, the etiquette of interrelations among peoples has been violated. In this form, the proposal seemed offensive, which gave many the opportunity not to discuss the essence, but to question the declared high culture of a nation, whose famous poet thus expresses himself with respect to another nation.

[Answer] I fully agree. One should not make such proposals. Nor should you tell somebody in such cases: you are not needed, here you are superfluous here. Only insult comes from this.

It is another matter, if the person himself feels a desire to return to his native land for economic or patriotic considerations.

[Question] This is indeed another matter.

[Answer] However, an administrative reduction of migration alone will not solve the problem. All the same, in the near future the percentage of the Estonian population in the overall structure of the republic will fall and, if effective measures are not taken, by the year 2050 will comprise less than 50 percent on the whole. It is not that few children are born—on the contrary, among women 20-30 years of age we have one of the highest birth rates in Europe. The point is that our young generation is small, while the older generation, whose children have already grown up, is numerous. Precisely the opposite is true of the incoming population—there are many more young people.

Of course, one could say that this is our internal problem. We should think a great deal about this, seek out and find some possible ways to correct the situation. Everyone realizes that something must be done and is looking for an answer and so, I repeat, it is no surprise that poorly considered suggestions are being expressed as well. This includes Lennart Mera's proposal of paying young Estonian families. Indeed, this is one possible solution, but it fails to take all of the circumstances into account. The intentions were good, but the other side's viewpoint was not considered.

[Question] Again it is a question of form and involves both sides, since the reaction to this proposal is frequently expressed in a most intolerable form.

[Answer] It is our common fault—we all clearly understand our own point of view, but we do not always imagine how it looks in the other side's eyes. I think that this is the legacy of past decades, when we were all blind to other viewpoints and did not even try to understand our opponent, which is so important in a democratic situation. After all, democracy is not a matter of the majority or of those who foist their own viewpoints off on others with shouts and strength. Democracy is the ability to find a common solution, which with the help of various compromises would satisfy everyone. It is a constructive approach to finding a common solution. We do not often think of this, yet in this situation it is necessary to take everyone into account, particularly those generations (including my own) which grew up under the principles of "like-mindedness"—i.e., one thought for everyone.

[Question] And if we go back to the problem of the young Estonian family from this position, then...

[Answer] Then we come to the conclusion that it is impermissible to undertake measures to actively stimulate the birthrate in young families of only one nationality at the legislative level, since in this case an infringement of the rights of young families representing other nations would occur. However, let us say, if certain Estonian collectives implement such a program by way of internal mutual assistance, this would be another matter entirely, would it not? If the kolkhozes and sovkhoses become involved in this, supporting their own young families (and not only Estonian)... The goal is the same, but the approach is different.

[Question] But will all the workers of the republic's collectives separate themselves out once and for all according to nationality? Perhaps one should consider a social fund for aid to young Estonian families? All of the republic's enterprises, as well as individual people, would be able to become members of this fund voluntarily. After all, a fund is an even more neutral form.

[Answer] Perhaps. We need ideas, from among which we will be able to select those most applicable to everyone. We need discussions. We need a choice of variants.

The main thing is that a goal has been set—halting the decline in the percentage of the Estonian population in the republic.

[Question] You meet with many people these days, including Russian-speaking audiences. What is your impression of their stance?

[Answer] I spoke a bit on this earlier. My most difficult meeting was at the Association imeni M.I. Kalinin. I received the impression that the people were very frightened and expected heaven only knows what tomorrow. It was very difficult to move into a discussion. The meeting lasted almost 4 hours and, it seems to me, in the end nevertheless we did succeed in establishing more or less

reasonable relations with each other. The audiences have been very heterogeneous. At a meeting in a institute of that same association, things were considerably easier—not in the sense that they agreed with everything, but that they had studied the plenum documents previously and there were specific practical questions instead of emotions. It was a different level of conversation.

[Question] Audiences are different, you are right: we also encounter this all the time. However, we must meet, talk and find a halfway point. Only thus will we choose the right road. Meanwhile, you seem to have set your paint brush aside for some time now—for the sake of fulfilling a civic duty...

[Answer] Temporarily, temporarily.

[Question] I would like to ask you to express your view on the language problem.

[Answer] The language problem, of course, is complex and important, but nevertheless I would like to start with something else: how does the non-Estonian see his tie with the society in which he lives, with the republic? Does he feel like he does in his native home, or as if he is living out of a suitcase—without a homeland, home or roots, equally at home both in Tallin and in Moscow? The problem lies precisely with these people, not with those who have lived here for a long time and have naturally become Estonian patriots. There are plenty of these people and it does not matter if they know the language a bit better or a bit worse. The main thing is whether or not they know and respect the land and the people among whom they live. Although, of course, it seems to me that this is already true if one is striving to master the language. As far as those professions which mandatorily require bilingualism, it is simply a matter of qualifications.

[Question] What do you think of the situation which has formed with Russian culture in Estonia?

[Answer] This problem also troubles us greatly. Every person has the right to live in his own cultural environment, among the cultural values of his own people. In my view, the most dangerous person is one who has lost his culture and his people. A "no nation"—be he an Estonian, Russian or Armenian—is a social danger, since his moral principles are also undeveloped. The trouble is that we have too many people who have lost their culture.

What kind of Russian culture is there in Estonia? True, to a certain extent it does exist and it should be developed. This is a culture which influences both sides, both Russian and Estonian. I always cite the artist Nikolay Kormashov and philologist Yuriy Lotman as examples. On the one hand, they are wholly part of Russian culture, and on the other, they are quite organically linked with Estonian culture.

[Question] Yuriy Mikhaylovich Lotman is organically linked with world culture as well; he is a world-renowned scientist. Unquestionably, these people honor the local Russian culture. They represent the very heights of culture.

However, we should also consider the atmosphere of life itself. Perhaps, all manner of "Russian societies" might help to develop the local Russian culture, or maybe some other way exists? This also requires discussion, does it not?

[Answer] We support your viewpoint that the culture of any national group living in Estonia requires development.

Incidentally, concerning common interests: I am afraid that the local Russian population is under the impression that the Estonian press and Estonian society are talking only of migration and the national problem and are saying heaven only knows what. They have even asked me: do you have the courage to repeat what you say to Russian audiences, for instance, in the newspaper NOORTE KHYAEL?

[Question] But you say the exact same thing everywhere.

[Answer] Yes, but the question is symptomatic. In actual fact, of all the problems discussed today, the national problem is hardly the only one. Problems of management competence, the republic's economic sovereignty, the defense of nature, etc., are being discussed. These are common main problems which have no national slants or national borders—if there is no clean air, everyone will be identically ill. Obviously, today it is important to find unity on these levels. There are shifts here, after all—whereas not long ago voices were shouting that both the phosphorites and cost-accounting were some kind of "Estonian conspiracy," today more and more people are recognizing the real problems. It is very important to find unity and understand that, naturally, there are problems which we debate, but even more problems in which we share a common goal. Therefore, I consider the National Front movement to be very important—this is our common front, that of all people who wish to help our country, not with words but with action.

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Historian Probes 'Stalinism in Estonia'

1800015000a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by Kh. Vaynu, candidate of historical sciences, docent in the Department of Scientific Communism at Tallinn Polytechnical Institute: "Features of Stalinism in Estonia"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The term "Stalinism" has recently come into broad circulation. It is true that there is still no scientific definition. Stalinism is mainly associated with the usurpation of power, the birth of an administrative system

and consequently with a definite policy of practical activity. Nor is there complete agreement on whether we are dealing with an ideological current which is founded on definite theoretical postulates. In this regard the very term "Stalinism" is sometimes called into question. Instead of it "the cult of Stalin's personality" is used, or more commonly an "administratively bureaucratic system."

The restoration of Soviet power in Estonia in the summer of 1940 resulted in the meeting of two very different ideological concepts. There was Stalinism on the one hand, and on the other, there was the heightened political self-awareness of the citizens of a young national state. The social memory and propaganda added to it a substantial measure of anti-Russian and anti-German sentiment. The bourgeois press carried quite a lot of slander against the Soviet Union, but on the subjects of industrialization (Estonia by the way imported Soviet equipment, and specifically agricultural equipment) and the repressions it provided a relatively objective picture. It willingly brought to the attention of the masses that which only later became the subject of genuine discussion in the USSR: under the banner of the struggle against enemies of the people there were reprisals against one's own, including the leaders of the Estonian communists, Arvelt, Pegelman and others. The bourgeois press also reported frequently on the closing of Estonian schools, newspapers and clubs in the Soviet Union and on the deportation of Estonians. Such reports did not increase people's sympathies for the Soviet system.

But why did fairly broad strata of the population respond positively to the events of the summer of 1940? The Estonian communists and the progressive forces which were not touched by Stalinism found a common language with the masses. The attitude toward the Red Army was also determined by the fact that it was seen as a counterweight to the German Wehrmacht, but they feared it as well.

The harsh methods of the class struggle which were transferred to Estonia and the rapid spread of repressive measures to the middle strata stunned the Estonian people.

Much has been written about how Soviet power was consolidated in Estonia between June 1940 and June 1941 and how the ranks of the party grew during this period. But for the sake of truth, for the sake of today, it is also necessary to recall how Soviet power was discredited during this time. It was no accident that 70,000 to 80,000 Estonians, that is, nearly one tenth of the population, moved to the West during 1943-1944. The majority of these people were by no means active opponents of socialism. For a long time it was thought that they were frightened by fascist propaganda. But such a mass psychosis would hardly have been possible, even if people had remembered the first mass evacuation of Estonians. Today we recognize that some of those who left their

native land with heavy hearts made for themselves personally the only possible choice; otherwise, they would have become victims of the illegal repressions of the post-war period.

For the Estonian people the war was a national catastrophe, but it was not a patriotic or civil war. Estonia remained a grain of sand between the millstones of war. The number of Estonians living in the area which had been theirs since time immemorial fell by 24 percent, according to some estimates. This is a world record or close to it. To the numbers of those who left, we need to add those who fell in battles, both on our side and on the other side of the front.

Yes, lackeys of Hitler were also found among my own fellow countrymen. It was they and not the Germans themselves who killed thousands of Estonian communists and other progressively inclined people and who committed evil deeds in the areas neighboring on Soviet Russia. But the majority of them were forced to put on the German uniform. In 1943 Estonian boys were mobilized, supposedly as volunteers, for the SS forces—the fascist German ringleaders avoided drafting them into the regular army, which would have been a direct violation of the norms of international law. In the summer of 1944 the former leaders of bourgeois Estonia lured Estonian men into the German armed forces, putting forward the idea that this provided the only opportunity to restore Estonia's sovereignty because at the end of the war both Germany and Russia would supposedly be weakened, as was the case after the First World War. After all, for the majority of Estonians this war was a war between Stalin and Hitler, who in equal measure advertised themselves zealously as the saviors of the Estonian people. I recall that during my youth people sang ironically: "Savior save us from the savior."

After the war the Stalinization of Estonia continued. The people who made the revolution of 1940 became disillusioned. As early as 1946, I. Vares-Barbarus, a doctor by profession and a poet by vocation, who was chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and prime minister in the first revolutionary government of 1940, committed suicide. He left us a legacy of verses filled with pain:

Who lives only with his heart, walks the way of suffering, along the sharp broken stones of former fascinations.

The proposals of other Estonian leaders, who wished with all their hearts to build socialism while taking account of local conditions, were rejected. They suggested that collectivization should be carried out on the basis of the comprehensive network of lower level forms of cooperation which existed in the Estonian village, and that the kulaks should be sent to the mines of Kokkila-Yarve, which were in great need of manpower.

In June 1949 the second wave of illegal deportations of Estonians began. And the Stalinization of Estonia was completed at the 8th plenum of the CPE (Communist

Party of Estonia) Central Committee in 1950. Under the slogan of the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, Estonian communists, who had been tempered by the underground and the war, were removed from power and some were thrown in prison. Something similar to the reprisal against the Leningrad organization took place, but in milder form.

The collectivization in Estonia was not accompanied by such horrors as it was in other parts of the Soviet Union in the late 20's and early 30's. The state of agriculture declined, but there was no actual famine. Soon after Stalin's death the deported people returned from Siberia. The communists who were slandered at the 8th plenum were rehabilitated, and some even returned to leadership posts, although not to such prominent ones as before. Under N.S. Khrushchev, industry was developed intensively within the framework of the sovnarkhoz (Council of National Economy); the foundations were laid (thanks, of course, to the remaining personnel and traditions) for the relatively high level of agriculture in Estonia in comparison with other regions of the European part of the non-black earth zone of the Soviet Union. Two factors which contributed to this were the shift (the first in the Soviet Union) made by the kolkhoz's from the labor-day method of payment to guaranteed monetary pay and the rapid introduction of the experience acquired by the Scandinavian countries.

Estonia has become a kind of Western window of the Soviet Union, and Tallinn has become a prominent tourist center. The nationality policy here also has had its own unique features. As in all the Baltic states we have retained teaching, including VUZ teaching, in the native language of the indigenous population. Among the languages in which books are published in the Soviet Union, the Estonian language is fifth in the number of titles and seventh in the total numbers of copies printed, although in terms of population figures the Estonians are 22nd among the USSR nationalities. Not only are children's books and adult literature (in translation from the original, as a rule) published in Estonia, but also technical, scientific and popular scientific literature. For Estonians the Russian language is not a means to access the wealth of world culture to the extent that it is for many other peoples of the USSR. Estonia has a national television channel and three radio frequencies used for broadcasting programs. The staff of ESSR Gosteleradio (State Committee for Television and Radio), including technical personnel and the musical collectives, amounts to 0.1 percent of the republic's population. Such a ratio is rare, if not unique. Estonian culture is predominant in Estonia. To talk about the Russification of Estonia in this regard is simply absurd.

Rehabilitation of Estonians Deported in 1940's Under Review

180005006 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with Yulo Roots, first deputy public prosecutor of the ESSR, by Estonian Telegraph Agency correspondent K. Tammik, date and place not specified: "The Innocent Are Being Rehabilitated"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The ETA correspondent asked the first deputy public prosecutor of the ESSR, Yulo Roots, what has already been done to rehabilitate those who were at one time unjustly repressed.

[Answer] The mass deportations of 1941 and 1949, although they were motivated in the first case by the tense pre-war situation and in the second by the need to eliminate the social base of the gangster and kulak classes, contravene the principles of humanism and socialist legality inasmuch as they in fact constituted the application of extra-judicial mass criminal punishment in the form of indeterminate exile.

The Office of the Estonian SSR Public Prosecutor continuously examines complaints from those who were illegally convicted of political crimes and from those who were exiled. In the last two years alone the public prosecutor's protests were the basis for the rehabilitation of 18 persons who were convicted at one time of alleged political crimes, as well as 19 people who had been exiled.

Recently the Office of the Estonian SSR Public Prosecutor has received numerous appeals for the rehabilitation of all exiles. In this regard the public prosecutor's office has appealed to the working group organized under the ESSR Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet for the verification of the legality of citizens' exile to apply to the appropriate Union organs for the repeal of the normative acts concerning the deportation of citizens. This question is being considered at the present time.

[Question] And one more question. People are turning to the mass media with appeals and questions as to whether the sentences passed on M.O. Niklus and E. Tarto will be reconsidered.

[Answer] Many citizens and organs of social self-government have also appealed to the Office of the ESSR Public Prosecutor with questions about whether the sentences passed by the court on Mart-Olav Niklus and Enn Tarto will be examined according to the procedure of the inspectorate in accordance with Article 68 Point 2 of the ESSR Criminal Code. The cases containing the accusations against these persons are now being reviewed by the USSR organs for the protection of the law—the

Office of the USSR Public Prosecutor and the USSR Supreme Court—and a decision on these cases will be brought down in the very near future.

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Nationality Problems Focus of LSSR Plenum Discussion

18000425 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
7 May 88 pp 2-3

[Report on 11th CPLi Central Committee Plenum: "Debate on Report of Vilnius Party Gorkom on Work of Vilnius City Party Organization on Intensifying Ideological-Class, International and Patriotic Education of the Public in Light of Resolutions of February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] "Analysis of the work of the Vilnius City Party Committee at the current plenum stimulated new thoughts and ideas in each of us," said Ye.Ye. Mayauskene, First Secretary of the Leninskiy Raykom, Kaunas, Lithuanian CP [CPLi].

"The Leninskiy Rayon of Kaunas is a rayon of higher educational institutions. But, as sociological research indicates, in the higher educational institutions and among the young people as a whole, there is still a sizable reservoir of national aloofness and insularity. Ignorance of the historic past sometimes leads to its idealization and to manifestations of nationalism. In this regard, social sciences instructors and teachers bear heavy responsibility.

"We must be especially careful and tactful in all areas which concern national interests or national feelings. Life has taught us that in solving problems of international-patriotic education, a fresh approach is not sufficient; one must know the real situation. In-depth analysis of the situation and study of the true state of affairs in every collective are needed, in spite of what party committees and primary party organizations may have done until now.

"We must self-critically acknowledge that international-patriotic education is still quite often understood as an isolated process. Contradictions and manifestations of nationalism encountered are interpreted as random phenomena, or 'vestigial remnants of the past.' Unfortunately, that is not so. The problem of international education is profound and complex, and in solving it, we must study not only the new relationships which have taken shape under conditions of socialism, but also the attitudes which evolved in the formative period of the nations and peoples.

"With regard to still another problem, we the party workers are faced with a very urgent problem—that is, lack of information. I believe that the majority of those present in this hall should have been apprised, on a timely basis, of the full story on the events in Nagorny

Karabakh. However, neither the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the CPLi Central Committee, nor the mass information media, nor the central press took up this concern. It is true that last week Central Television presented a documentary chronicle—two months after the fact. Was it truly right to remain silent on this situation? I think not. Just as in the past, we were unable to suppress various rumors which were spreading, and they were not in our favor. Does knowledge of the real situation really threaten the friendship of the Soviet people? Surely not."

"The rayon in which I work," said L.B. Vorobyev, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Vilniuskii Rayon, "is not only the largest in terms of population, it is also one of the republic's largest multi-national rayons; people of 21 nationalities work here. Taking our rayon as an example, one can clearly see both everything positive that has been done to resolve the nationalities problem during the years of Soviet rule, and also those aspects of international relations which must be taken into consideration and resolved in the course of perestroika.

"My own life can be taken as an example of the true internationalism which exists here in Lithuania. I am just a Russian lad from the banks of the Volga. After graduating from the institute in 1963, I came here to the Vilnius territory to live and work. In time, Lithuania has become my homeland, and for my children it has been their native land since their birth. And the language, history and traditions of the Lithuanian people are just as dear to us as the Russian.

"There are also urgent problems in our rayon. For example, there are quite a few schools in the Vilnius zone, in which instruction in the primary grades is conducted in the Polish language. However, no specialists with higher education are being trained in the republic as teachers in those schools."

"Both the new political thinking and ethical principles are best shaped by fruitful activities directed toward a specific goal," noted A.M. Maldonis, chairman of the board, Lithuanian SSR Writers' Union. "The writers' organization has also been striving to actualize and give focus to its own activities.

"Other important problems which require our attention include: history, language, national relations, and the ecological situation. Our party organization has been hard at work on these.

"Taking up all of these matters, we have pursued the goal of eliminating or at the very least identifying the destructive features which have a bearing on our lives to one extent or another. These are all black or white areas—attempts to equate national self-consciousness with nationalism; completely groundless embellishment or denigration, modeling of history in accordance with contemporary standards; and the ideologizing of all sorts of taboos. The task at hand is to liquidate the sources of

tension and distortion which were formed during the years of Stalinism and stagnation, and direct our activities in such a way that conditions which might give rise to new hotbeds of tension might be removed before they become acute. Eliminating the obstacles and creating optimum conditions for economic and social progress, and for the normal and fruitful development of national cultures, are the basis for harmonious international relations and ties.

The school situation is still one source of these tensions. As we see from the lessons of Belorussia, the Ukraine and Nagornyy Karabakh, almost all the dissatisfaction in national life begins with the school situation. And this also concerns the fate of the national language: its sphere of use is narrowing. For reasons known to everyone, there are no Lithuanian language dictionaries from the industrial, scientific or administrative spheres. And we are still almost powerless in the face of blind departmental expansion. Industrial projects of the central departments quite often pay no attention whatsoever to the social, ecological or national-ethnic consequences of implementing these projects. Glaring examples of this are the monoculture in Uzbekistan, the industrial complexes in Estonia and Latvia, and the concentration of the chemical industry in our republic.

"The culture of national relations would be enhanced by the introduction of genuine bilingualism, and the return of the Lithuanian language to those spheres of natural use in which it was systematically supplanted. We must develop international qualities not only among the Lithuanian populace, but also among the populace of other nationalities in the republic.

"Now is the time to set about discussion of how and by what means we may influence ideological work, the development of standards of economic accountability (khozraschet), and the restoration of commercial principles in various spheres of life."

"It seems to me," said SOVETSKAYA LITVA editor V.K. Yemelyanov, "that when speaking of national relations and about international education, we should examine two aspects: the juridical, legal and state aspect, and the aspect associated with the practice and culture of international intercourse, that is, the emotional and spiritual aspect.

"As far as the first is concerned, in my opinion things are going rather well for us. It may be that not all our laws, political and economic and other laws, are not ideal—but they are the same for all nations and nationalities, and are based on a firm foundation: a unified national-economic complex, their purposes are not in doubt, and they serve to strengthen the friendship of nations.

"As far as the second aspect is concerned, here things are more complicated! Mutual grievances have accumulated, albeit small ones. There are some rough spots in

economic, cultural, and everyday relationships: emotions sometimes spill over within the region; and, of course, these things do not promote strengthening the friendship of nations; rather, the reverse is true.

"The infamous manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and clerical extremism are not simply unpleasant—they are dangerous. Such attempts will, of course, be made in the future in one form or another. And we are all obliged to draw conclusions from this: we must think more clearly, more precisely divine our course, analyze life more profoundly, and not indulge ourselves with eloquent words but learn how to conduct political discussions and polemics.

"At the very same time it seems to me that we have to a certain extent overestimated the capabilities of the extremist groups and their power of attraction. I am a Russian. I have been living in Lithuania since 1955. I used to live in Kaunas, and now live in Vilnius. I do a lot of traveling around the republic and meet with various strata of our society; and I have never felt that I was an oppressor, and I do not and never have felt any kind of personal hostility toward myself as a Russian. But, having said this, I do not want to say that we have no problems in mutual relationships among people of different nationalities. The editors quite often receive letters in which people, by and large newcomers, complain that on the street, in stores and restaurants or cafes, people did not want to speak Russian with them, and met their requests with rude retorts. These facts, even if they are isolated incidents, testify to the fact that not everything is quite right with us yet in terms of internationalism, tact and intelligence. The reasons? There are many. These include shortcomings in education, the inherent culture of the people themselves, formalism and the administrative-command method of leadership, hastily adopted resolutions without sufficient forethought of their consequences, and many other reasons.

For good relations among the nationalities, both glasnost and affirmation of democracy should be the norms of life. After all, the more widely democracy is developed, the more democratic the life of the country, the greater will be the force of mutual attraction among people of all nationalities.

Is all of this always done as it should be done? Have all our actions been subordinated to internationalism, to sensitivity, and respect for the national feelings of the people? No, not always. And the mistakes committed in the national question are not small ones. They are always noticed, and are at times blown out of proportion in the people's minds. And they are reflected in the political consciousness of the masses and in their ideological convictions."

"A system for shaping the students' communist worldview has been established in the institute and is in operation, in accordance with which a prominent place is given to imbuing the students with internationalism.

said Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute Rector J.Yu. Anichas. "In nurturing patriots and internationalists, we strive to make maximum use of the wealth of scholarly experience and ideological potential of our professors, docents and instructors. Final year students in all specialties take a special course called, 'The Development of National Relationships in the Soviet Union.'

"The teaching of the social sciences is being energetically restructured. The courses are being humanized, with greater emphasis devoted to world-view, the individual, and problems of objective reality as a social being; and analysis of his place in social life, in which national problems play an important role. Disputes and discussions are being widely introduced as instructional techniques, owing to which the intellectual activeness of the students has increased noticeably, and their attention toward the problems of restructuring our socialist society has increased.

"We have spent many years establishing our fine traditions of international and patriotic education, and we are still striving to perfect them. However, there are unused capabilities, problems, and urgent tasks, the successful and timely solution of which will to a significant extent determine the ideological maturation of internationalist-teachers and Soviet patriots, and their active involvement in the process of communist upbringing. We must openly and self-critically admit that in this area, as in other areas of communist upbringing, stereotyped views on the number of measures are still prevalent. I believe that the staff structure of party committees, at least in the major cities, should include positions for scientific consultants, staffed by candidates of philosophical, economical, pedagogical and psychological sciences.

"Changes in the training of history teachers will make an important contribution to the work of the Communist Party on improving national relationships. Alongside the USSR History and World History Chairs, a separate chair on the History of the Lithuanian SSR is being set up at the institute, as part of the History and Pedagogical Department. We hope that the new chair will promote better, all-round training for history teachers, and that it will become actively involved in scholarly research on the problems of Lithuanian history."

"In preparation for the study of this question at today's Plenum, I was given authorization to acquaint myself with the party work of the Sovetskii Raykom in the city of Vilnius," said K. Yurlovich, Shvenchenskii Raykom party first secretary. "It should be noted that in the rayon as well as in the city party organization as a whole, quite a bit is being done with respect to the international and patriotic education of the public: a definite system and organizational structure is being established; great initiative is being shown in the quest for new forms for propagating the ideals of the friendship of nations under conditions of restructuring all spheres of life in the city. And a system for providing operational information to the leading cadres and ideological aktiv is taking shape.

"At the same time there are unresolved problems: in particular, we should properly pay more attention to more careful selection of party members on the basis of nationality, since the membership does not fully correspond to it. In selecting cadres for responsible supervisory positions, both for the appropriate organs on the rayon level, and in the working collectives, we should be more careful and more objective, giving thought to the future, taking into consideration the proportionality of the national make-up of the populace. However, I do not at all hold the view that people should be promoted according to a purely mechanical distribution of positions on the basis of nationality. In and of itself, nationality can be neither a source of privilege, nor a limiting factor. "Much of what was said in the report of K. Zaletskas at today's Plenum with respect to party raykoms and the primary party organizations of Vilnius applies to the work of our rayon party organization as well. Shvenchenskii is a multinational rayon. Representatives of all nationalities live together as one happy family, and take an equal part in the restructuring of all spheres of our productive and social life. Our rayon has long-term close contacts with Ostrovetskii Rayon in the Belorussian SSR. This interaction at the level of the rayon and that of individual collectives promotes international and patriotic education.

"The processes of perestroika and glasnost in the country, and the expansion of socialist democracy nevertheless force us to reconsider the condition and the development of national relations. This applies especially to satisfying the cultural and linguistic interests of the individual nationalities. For example, in recent years, Polish-language schools have become fewer. Perhaps there is no requirement to open new schools such as these, but it becomes more difficult for the pupils to receive further instruction in secondary, specialized, and higher educational institutions. In those regions in which the Polish nationality is predominant, it would be more expedient for schools in which Russian or Lithuanian is the language of instruction to introduce the subjects of Polish Language and Literature. And this requires the practical and methodological assistance of the Ministry of Public Education (Ministerstvo Narodnogo Obrazovaniya).

"I believe it is appropriate to raise the problem on another plane, which concerns the Vilnius region as a whole. A certain category of people, including the products of secondary schools where Russian and Polish are the languages of instruction, still have a rather shallow knowledge of the Lithuanian language. Therefore, the introduction of Lithuanian language and culture to this part of the populace is proceeding slowly. In those regions where Lithuanian is not spoken widely, it would be expedient to make provisions for greater emphasis on programs for the study of the Lithuanian language and literature. The Ministry of Public Education should not have to regulate this process. Greater independence should be given to the local Soviets of People's Deputies and to the pedagogical collectives at the schools."

"It has been a little more than three years since the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which proclaimed the restructuring of all spheres of life of our society, for the purpose of accelerating its economic and social development," said Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. "It required a considerable amount of courage for the party to look the truth in the eyes, and to liberate itself from those perceptions of socialism which bear the stamp of subjective interpretation. It boldly revealed its shortcomings, and subjected to the fire of public opinion and criticism the mistakes which occurred in the past, as well as the phenomena of stagnation and inertness, but it succeeded in working out a concept of perestroika; and it has led the struggle for its realization.

"Perestroika begins chiefly in the consciousness of the cadres and the broad working masses, with their assimilation of the ideology of the renovation of society. The realization of the goals and tasks of perestroika; the lack of any alternative whatsoever; the need for every communist, every party organization, and every working collective to determine their position in the overall structure—these are the principal directions of ideological work on formulating the socialist consciousness of the masses under contemporary conditions; for resolving the problem of the development of the individual; and for becoming a new person.

"As noted at the recent celebrations surrounding Lenin's Birthday, the struggle for socialist consciousness means overcoming anti-perestroika views and attitudes, and the stereotypes of the old way of thinking. It is a question of delimitation, which will serve to solidify society around the policy of the party. Free competition of ideas, contrasting different points of view, pluralism of opinions—this is the path to true unity, and the conditions for strengthening it.

"The party supports and will continue to support only that which is to the benefit of socialism; and it rejects and will continue reject everything that is harmful to the interests of the people. Perestroika stands for the increase of socialism. In this connection it is important to wage a principled, uncompromising struggle not only with those who demand dismantling the very system of socialism to its foundations—but also with the proponents of cosmetic repairs, redecorating the facade, or a kind of "resetting" of the existing mechanism. No less dangerous is the radical phraseology, which ignores the logic of perestroika, of calls for leapfrogging the stage of socialist development. And here and there, under the guise of defending their principles, there are those who are making a frontal assault on perestroika.

"Under conditions of perestroika, the party itself must somewhat rethink its own role as the political vanguard of society. Rethink in the sense that its methods and means of action are adequate to meet the new demands. This, as Gorbachev stated at one of the CPSU Central Committee sessions, must then be transformed into the

work of the Politburo and the Secretariat and departments of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the work of the republic and local party organs.

"The questions of international and patriotic upbringing being discussed at today's plenum are especially urgent and significant. Under conditions of glasnost, the people have begun to speak freely and openly about everything, including problems of national relations. At present these questions have come to the forefront. As is well-known, the entire complex of these problems and a program for further development of national relations in the country will be examined at one of the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee Plenums.

"A truly unique reservoir of ideological-moral experience has accumulated in our multinational state on bringing together the broad working masses of various nationalities to resolve political and socio-economic problems. But, as is well-known, every kind of development is fraught with contradictions; and they are inevitable in the sphere of national relations as well. Failure to fully understand, and at times even out-and-out rejection of this truth, errors in implementing national policy and serious shortcomings in presenting international and patriotic education, have led to the rise of negative phenomena in this sphere.

"Assiduously preserving and developing everything that is progressive in national relations, and struggling with nihilistic attitudes toward them are among our most important tasks; and we must resolve them together, thoughtfully and purposefully.

"This in turn does not exclude—on the contrary, it intensifies the necessity for uncompromising struggle with manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, no matter what form they appear in. That is, struggle with any kind of pretensions to national exclusiveness; for this, as a rule, sows the seeds of hostility to other nations.

"In analyzing the problems of international relations, we must also consider the fact that our ideological adversary has a certain amount of influence on them. The ideology of anti-communism considers nationalism its chief ally in the struggle with socialism, and is attempting to capitalize on the present problems. Considering multinationalism our weak spot, they quite often test us in this area and will always try to do so.

"There are also internal factors which create tension in these questions. An extremely complex religious situation continues to obtain in your republic. There are increasing attempts to closely intertwine the national and the religious, and to attach antisocial trends to certain actions.

"At the very same time, under conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost, a certain amount of confusion is noted here and there: not all party and ideological

cadres are not mentally ready, and at times not professionally ready, to act decisively; to make a principled political analysis and repulse manifestations of alien views and extremist elements; and to actively carry on the international, patriotic and atheist education of the workers.

"The organization of international and patriotic education of young men and women demands special attention. The young people have not gone through the school of internationalism which the older generations have gone through in the process of socialist construction and in the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War.

"The history of your republic is replete with examples of the heroic struggle of the Lithuanian people for freedom and for Soviet Rule, with examples of creative labor. All of this must be purposefully and convincingly conveyed to the young people: the more so, since the eve of the 70th Anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian CP and the establishment of Soviet rule in the republic is at hand.

"In our view, the republic's mass information media can and should make a more weighty contribution to the cause of perestroika and to the international, patriotic and atheistic education of the public. On the whole their work deserves positive comment. But at the same time, the journalists have every opportunity to wage a more decisive struggle with the major problems and analyze the processes in greater depth. Moreover, well-known commentators, writers, and other representatives of the creative and scientific intelligentsiya should be invited to collaborate with the press. They have a lot to say to the people about the friendship of nations, about the historical past, and about the prospects for the further development of Lithuania in the unified family of fraternal republics.

"Of course, these problems will not be solved by propaganda measures alone. National problems do not exist in a vacuum. They are always intertwined in socio-economic relations, and are closely associated with intellectual life. Tense situations which arise out of insufficient satisfaction of the peoples' needs in the economic, intellectual and social spheres are at times easily transplanted into national soil. Therefore, problems of housing construction, organization of trade, consumer and medical services, development of transportation and other social problems, are today taking on direct political significance."

"The work carried out in the organizations of the republic DOSAAF," said General-Major G.P. Taurinskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR DOSAAF Central Committee, "is an integral part of the international and patriotic education of the Soviet people. DOSAAF members of Soviet Lithuania have for the last two years taken second place in All-Union Socialist Competition.

"The capital's defensive organization is training a considerable number of specialists for the Army and the national economy. A great deal of work is being carried out in preparing the young men for military service. A

record of positive experience in this work has been compiled in the collectives of the radio-parts and calculating machine plants, at "Plasta," at construction and electromechanical technical schools, and at many secondary and vocational-technical schools.

"At the same time one must note that the effectiveness of the measures taken in the city's DOSAAF organization does not fully meet today's needs. A comprehensive approach to military-patriotic education is not being practiced. One could wish for better interaction in the work of the DOSAAF youth organization and the Komsomol, public education authorities, military commissariats, and the 'Znaniye' Society. Poor use is made of technical means in military-patriotic propaganda. Little attention is devoted to the professional orientation of students for entry into military academies.

"The organizations of the city's defense society are slow to improve the quality of training specialists for the Army and Navy; they are 'spinning their wheels' in restructuring the system of military-patriotic propaganda; a significant proportion of the young people are not involved in technical training and sports with a military application, especially in the educational institutions.

"In view of the transition of the working collectives to new management conditions, it has become more complicated to reach agreements on sharing assets for setting up the appropriate bases, and for acquiring the necessary technical facilities and equipment. Expenditures for mass-defense work are not stipulated under a single article. One would think that a certain portion of their assets should be directed toward these goals by the directive organizations and by the councils of the working collectives.

"Well-rounded leisure activities for the workers are among the directions of the party's social policy. With the introduction of new housing we are creating favorable living conditions; but, you see, we are unable to create the necessary conditions for active recreation and for engaging in physical culture and sport, only because the necessary facilities are lacking. It would seem that when planning new subdivisions, construction of modest sports facilities should be stipulated, and accommodations should be allocated for rifle and air-gun shooting galleries."

Gen-Maj Taurinskas expressed his disagreement with certain articles published in the republic press. In his opinion, recent critical articles on the development of sports aviation, printed in the newspapers TIESA and KOMYaNIMO TIESA, were only detrimental to the cause of military-patriotic education. Many parents have begun to remove their children from the DOSAAF sports-aviation clubs. Although the assertions that they were allegedly jumping with parachutes full of holes there are incorrect, the editors of the newspapers do not want to recant them. Thus it turns out that the game of glasnost is being played with only one goalpost.

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Official, Ecology Activist Present Opposing Water Resource Development Views

Introduction

18300335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed report entitled: "Will the Rivers Reverse Their Flow?"]

[Text] Many debates are now taking place on the pages of newspapers and magazines, on television screens and even on the streets. Reports about meetings are arriving now from one city and now from another one. Their subjects are different. Without a doubt, this is a normal process and, even more, it is already a customary one today.

Debates of another type, however, are also occurring. Arguments, opinion melees and sharp disputes are occurring in society and ... nothing is changing! A clear example of this is the discussion of the work of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and its subunits. On 12 February 1986, PRAVDA posed the problem of diverting part of the flow of northern rivers to the south under the rubric "At the Crossroads of Opinion." The country's most important scientists expressed their opinion. Lines about diverting the rivers disappeared from the 27th CPSU Congress documents. Next, a government decree was adopted about halting the work. The problem of the country's water resources was discussed several more times "at the highest level." And what happened? The essence of the work of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources remained as before; only the terms were changed Articles by G. Voropayev, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Sergey Zalygin, a writer, are evidence of this. We are publishing them in a somewhat condensed form.

Voropayev on Resource Management Plan

18300335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by G. Voropayev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Water Problems: "According to the 'Water Supply' Program"]

[Text] Our country has enormous renewable resources of river run-off and significant reserves of underground water at its disposal. Even in the remote future, the total requirement will not exceed 15 percent of the existing resources. The main difficulties are connected with the unequal distribution of water resources on our territory. The country's southern and central rayons, where approximately 80 percent of the population live and where four-fifths of its industrial and agricultural potential is concentrated, has only 16 percent of the water resources.

Large complicated water distribution systems with reservoirs, canals and many hundreds of different structures—which simultaneously are elements in natural

complexes—have been built to solve the country's water supply tasks. The Volga, Dnepr, Syr Darya, Amu Darya, Don, Kuban and other systems are the largest in Europe and the world. In those cases where successful solutions have been adopted, high quality has been assured in the construction of projects and operations are being competently handled, good economic results and a large positive ecological effect have been achieved. For example, the Moscow-Volga Canal water distribution system which includes, a very large navigable channel, several reservoirs, pumping stations, locks, and much more, has not only been successfully solving the task of delivery Volga water to the city of Moscow and the Moscow River for more than 50 years, but it has also created beautiful landscapes that have become a favorite place for relaxation, tourism and sports for millions of Muscovites and newcomers. High economic and ecological indicators have been achieved during the building of the water distribution systems based on the North Crimean and Dnepr-Donbass canals and a number of others.

The water distribution systems are continuing to be expanded and enlarged. This is an inevitable process and it permits the reliability of supplying water to all users to be increased and water resources to be used more economically. It also creates conditions for maneuvering water resources. It is important that the development and establishment of these systems receive a thorough scientific substantiation and a national discussion. The latter is especially important because these systems change natural conditions and are established practically in perpetuity. During recent years, many articles have appeared in the press, which have dealt unilaterally with many of the country's water supply questions using questionable information. Without a doubt, this is not contributing to the search for correct ways to solve the complicated tasks.

Water problems are not becoming simpler over the years. On the one hand, our requirements for protecting the environment and preserving scenery and water resources are growing. We want to see not only our housing, yard and street well organized but also urban territory, country places and the entire country. The requirement for developing water sports and relaxation at the water and for preserving and improving many natural complexes, whose fate water conditions determine, is growing.

On the other hand, the demand for water resources to satisfy our social and production needs is growing. As a result of this, a significant portion of the flow is being withdrawn from water entities, and the water of rivers in a number of rayons is being exhausted almost completely. The Syr Darya and Amu Darya rivers have practically stopped flowing into the Aral Sea; such rivers as the Chu, Talass, Assa, and Zeravshan have disappeared in their lower reaches; and the Dnepr, Kuban, Kura, Karatal, and many other rivers have become shallow. The problems, which are connected with the reduction in fish hauls in the Azov Sea, the lower Volga

and the Dnepr; the drying up of the Aral Sea; the acceleration of the drop in the level of Lake Issykkul; and the unfavorable hydrochemical, medical and biological condition of the drinking water supply in the Ural rivers and others, have arisen from this. If the intake of water is increased, we will encounter new problems: possibly the drying up and increased salinity of Lake Balkhash; the complete stopping of the river flow into the Aral Sea; a further decrease in the flow of the Terek, Kura, Ili, and Irtysh rivers; a reduction in the flow of river water into the Black and Caspian seas; and a change in the hydrochemical conditions of many rivers in the European territory and Siberia.

Along with the problem of exhausting water resources, the problem of contaminating the water environment is no less important; it is even more important. All types of economic activity contribute to this. Industry and communal facilities have made a particularly large contribution.

What situation has taken shape today regarding the use of water by its main users and what must and can be done realistically in the next 15-20 years based on the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the assets allocated by the state for supplying water and protecting the water environment, considering the new opportunities that the reconstruction of the economy has revealed in our country?

Let us first examine the problem of the population's water supply. For a long time, the country has mainly allocated funds for supplying drinking water; a minimum of purification and sewerage works were built. Even today, many large cities do not have modern sewerage and purification works—for example, Leningrad. Approximately a fifth of the population in cities and settlements live in houses without amenities and use street hydrants and shaft wells. The population's specific water usage in many small cities is 1.5-2-fold less than the norm. Restrictions on the supply of water (two-three hours a day) still exist in the water supply practices of many southern cities. The percentage of centralized water supply is quite low in the village—less than 12 percent. At the same time, a large part of the existing water supply systems are technically imperfect and have low quality plumbing equipment and a lack of water saving devices. The large losses—20 to 40 percent—of water in urban water supply systems result from this. The use of drinking water in cities for industrial purposes, washing of streets and vehicles, watering of plants, and other technical purposes, which sometimes reaches 30 percent, is completely unjustified. This explains the fact why the real comfort and water amenity level remains low even in certain cities in our country that have high indicators of specific water usage.

The measures, which have been planned and which are already being carried out in the country to reconstruct water and sewerage facilities, expand them to all rayons where necessary and conserve water, will permit the technical condition of the systems, the use of water

resources and the supplying of the population with drinking water and water for communal needs to be improved by the end of the current century. However, the total intake from water sources for housing and communal facilities will inevitably grow by no less than 30-40 percent, considering the growth in the population and its comfort level during this time.

The expansion of water usage by industry has also had a number of negative aspects. The distribution of industrial installations has taken place without considering the water supply level and the ecological significance of water entities. A large portion of the industrial enterprises discharge their waste water without observing the requirements for the standardized purity of water basins (for example, the Baykal and Ladoga lakes and the Northern Donets, Tom, Sukhona, Chusovaya, Belaya, and other rivers). Converting to a circulating water supply is the main technical method for reducing the discharge of contaminants at the present time.

On the whole, it is planned to implement in the future a broad series of water conservation measures in industry (including the heat and power industry) in addition to increasing water circulation to 82-83 percent on the average. You see, the total requirement for fresh water for industry will grow by approximately 14-16 cubic kilometers, or approximately 15 percent, by the year 2000.

However, all of this will be possible only if a radical technical restructuring is carried out in the water usage of these branches. At the present time, unfortunately, the solution of this problem is being hindered by the absence of different types of specialized equipment, devices, instruments, materials, quality reagents, flocculants, and sorbents. Small-capacity plants are producing a significant portion of the water purification equipment. The product list does not satisfy modern requirements, production volumes do not correspond to the requirements for them and the technical level is inferior to the best foreign models. It is necessary to establish special enterprises in the country for the large-scale series production of different types of equipment for water handling facilities.

In view of the fact that the supplying of water handling facilities with technical systems is not being managed within branch limits, it is necessary to establish a large scientific and production association to design and produce different types of water handling (including purification) equipment.

The hydraulic power engineering industry is a specific water user. Statements that it is necessary to destroy GES because they are not very effective sources of energy and because their destruction would release previously flooded land for agricultural use, are appearing in the press. It is useful to recall that almost all of the plains reservoirs on the Volga, Dnepr and Don were constructed during the postwar years in order to restore an economy that had been destroyed. Energy sources were needed. The building of the reservoirs led to a loss of part

of the fishing industry. More than two million hectares of agricultural land was flooded (all of the reservoirs flooded 3.1 million hectares, of which 0.8 million hectares were arable land). At the same time, conditions for the development of river and maritime transport, water supply, irrigation, and recreation were established with the building of the GES. The fishing industry was partially restored over time.

The experience of several decades has revealed both positive and negative aspects in the building of the reservoirs and has shown that the effect usually exceeds losses by several degrees. Over the years, the importance of the GES grew and today they are the only source for covering the peak demands for energy that arise during the day and the week.

Based on the fact that hydraulic power engineering is one of the most economical and ecologically clean sources of electricity (the existing GES prevent the discharge of 100-120 million tons of pollutants into the surrounding environment and release 80 million tons of standard fuel), it is necessary to carry out the expansion of hydraulic power engineering in our country at higher rates.

During the last two decades, a significant water user has been agriculture, especially irrigation farming which receives up to 90 percent of the branch's total intake of water. The world's experience testifies that water amelioration is an effective way to intensify farming. Irrigation farming in the country's southern rayons, where the agroclimatic potential is fivefold-sevenfold higher than in the northern ones, can provide a sharp reduction in capital investments, higher labor productivity and lower power-intensiveness. It also reduces expenditures for the expansion of infrastructure projects. Finally, water amelioration—when it is carried out correctly and scientifically—is essentially an effective method for radically changing unfavorable natural conditions, raising the biological productivity of the land, and improving the individual's living conditions.

At the same time, the practices of recent years have shown that these potential capabilities are being poorly used; the harvest on approximately half of the irrigated land remains low. As a number of party documents have pointed out, the reasons for this are rooted in the generally low level of organization of agricultural production, the absence of land reclamation services on the farms, and the failure to perfect economic incentives and levers and intrafarm cost accounting. The technical deficiencies in a considerable portion of the construction systems, low level of their operation, unsatisfactorily organized water accounts, and free use of water are also having an effect. As a result of all this, approximately a fourth of the water resources used for irrigation are lost unproductively.

At the present time, steps, which will permit the mentioned shortcomings to be eliminated, are being taken in the country. Before the end of the current century, it is

planned to reconstruct irrigation systems on an area of approximately 10 million hectares. This is half of all the irrigated land. A series of steps will be taken to reduce water losses and improve the accounting for water and the management of water distribution. The total effect from water conservation will be more than 34 cubic kilometers of water. This is equivalent to the flow of a river like the Syr Darya. At the same time, it is planned to construct new irrigation systems on an area of approximately 10 million hectares. As a result of this, the need for water should grow by approximately 35-40 cubic kilometers, or by 20 percent.

Thus, a broad program of water saving measures, which will insure a 44 percent reduction in specific water usage per unit of production in irrigation and a 40 percent one in industry is being planned for the period out to the year 2000. At the same time, the discharge of pollutants into the water environment is being considerably reduced. This will permit the contamination levels in many of the major water sources to be reduced. The realization of the entire program will require expenditures of more than 130 billion rubles.

However, the scales of the expansion of our production forces during the coming period and the status of the technical preparations of our systems are such that it is impossible to cover our growing water requirement fully using only water conservation. The solving of the economic tasks outlined in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress requires an increase in the intake of fresh water of up to approximately 430 cubic kilometers a year. The extremely diverse water usage conditions, which are taking shape in various rayons of the country, require that one proceed from the real ecological and economic water supply conditions in each individual case. In rayons with little water, for example, the shift to a water supply using circulating closed systems is extremely effective; at the same time, in rayons with a lot of water, this is not justified, even considering all of the water protection expenditures. Questions concerning the use of local flows, including those from small rivers, must also be solved based on local conditions or a territorial redistribution must be carried out when this is justified economically. A search for the best ways is required.

The use of these levers will permit water handling facilities to be brought to cost accounting and self-financing with the appropriate organizational and management independence and will allow their effectiveness to be raised in general. It is necessary to mention that a great deal of attention has recently been paid to developing a scientifically sound strategy for solving the country's water supply problems that have arisen. On instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VASKhNIL studied and discussed in 1987 the problems that have arisen and made the appropriate report to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The report has been reviewed and approved, and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers adopted the decree

"Concerning Immediate Measures To Improve the Use of Water Resources in the Country" on 19 January 1988 based on it. These documents stipulate the tasks for the set of urgent measures, which are aimed at radically changing the question of using water resources economically and rationally and protecting river and lake basins and other sources of water.

Considering the inevitability of the further expansion of water handling systems and the need for greater timeliness in developing and justifying strategic solutions for water and nature questions in general, it is necessary in the next few years to develop a "Water Supply for the Country" complex long-term program. Like the Energy and Food programs, it is advisable to entrust the development of this program to a number of ministries and departments, insuring scientific direction by the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Zalygin Assails Continuing River Diversion Work
18300335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Sergey Zalygin: "Agreement as a System"]

[Text] Agreement... perhaps the reader has wondered what meaning this word has acquired in our present usage?

I have wondered—life has compelled it. Many of our contemporary problems have forced us to do this, especially ecological problems and—in particular—the water handling facilities which I have had occasion to encounter.

What grieves anyone... true, in our times, it happens that it is simpler to list everything that does not grieve one.

In any event, however, we will talk about "agreements" on the basis of those facts which I have encountered during the last two-three years.

The ZVEZDA VOSTOKA magazine entered into a "discussion" with me on the question of the plan to divert the waters of the Ob to the Aral Sea. The word "discussion" is used here in quotation marks because Comrade Tatur, the editor, published 13 items, including his own extensive article, beginning, with issue No 6, 1987 and ending with No 4, 1988 in opposition to me and to one of my letters that was published in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA. There was not one in support of me—and this in light of the fact that I sent him articles by two writers who rejected the diversion plan from their own point of view. Such a discussion and such glasnost mean that what "is proposed" by the editor is published and that, which is not proposed by him, is not. NOVYY MIR acted differently during a discussion on this same subject: It gave the opponents more space than the proponents (cf. issue No 7, 1987 of the magazine).

However, I would not like to concentrate attention on ethical items. That would lead me away from the essence of the discussion and create an opinion of me, I will not conceal, that my opponents want.

Therefore, the first question: Have the water resources of the Aral Sea basin disappeared? ZVEZDA VOSTOKA says: Yes—they have disappeared completely.

If that is so, then why and with what water have millions of hectares of very fertile land here become salt-ridden, bogged up and removed from production practically forever—and this has occurred during the last 20-30 years? Deserts are becoming swamps in front of our eyes—a fact unheard of in the history of irrigation during recent centuries. Moreover, is it not necessary to analyze this fact since we are demanding more and more water, and not simply be terrified by it?

Along with the dying Aral, waste waters are filling the Sarykamyshskaya Depression; approximately 50 cubic kilometers of water are now in it—this is approximately a three-year amount of that diversion which makes drainage and irrigation specialists happy. You see, however, the word "Sarykamysh," which has become common in Central Asia, does not appear in ZVEZDA VOSTOKA.

The useless and undoubtedly harmful discharge into Sarykamysh at the expense of the Aral Sea could have been avoided if the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources had long ago constructed in a timely fashion the drainage interception ditch that had been planned. It, however, did not do this.

The population of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR are essentially worried to death because the land is bogging up. Every tenth-eighth child is born here as a freak of nature and the people become ill and suffer from the surplus of salty water. This is a catastrophe no worse than Chernobyl. This is a state crime and it exists also in Turkmenia as a result of the construction of the Kara-Kum Canal; however, Comrade Tatur writes: "Here and there, our water is indeed used carelessly and wastefully...." Here and there—this is nothing less than three million hectares officially written off by the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources because it is becoming bogged up and salty. No one clearly knows how much will actually become a casualty forever; the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources does not know any more.

What is this—naivete?

Alas, behind the naivete that costs us tens and hundreds of billions of rubles and millions of hectares of written-off land, usually stands a mercenary and written-off conscience. You see, one cannot fail to note that it is those very same people, who bear responsibility for all of this and for much much more that has been "written off," that are now pushing the diversion project so

zealously. It has long been known what this could mean: What crimes and billions have not been written off under grandeur and our heroism?! Stalin wrote off millions of lives and taught his art to many people—and taught it reliably.

And Rashidov? How can one fail to mention this name. A project was developed while he "flourished." Under him, a colossal dam was built on the Amu Darya as part of this project in a very short time. The dam inflicted enormous damage; Comrade Polad-zade, deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources and a diversion ideologist and practical worker, and Comrade Dukhovnyy, his closest colleague and director of the Central Asian Institute for Irrigation, are still unable to explain its need. However, do they want to explain it? First, the Ob-Aral Canal must be constructed. Many scientists—I will mention Academician Dorodnitsyn—warned at one time that the dam should not be built. Did Rashidov really listen to someone other than those to whom he wanted to listen?

Does not the real state of affairs of the present canal-digging and dam-building hullabaloo consist of the fact that it has ominous momentum from the recent past when one chief telegraphed another: "2,000 by the 20th," and 2,000 free-of-charge workers were unloaded under escort ahead of the "supply" schedule at the station of En.

Comrade Tatur quotes—not without delight—V. Dukhovnyy's letter—a letter owned to be worthy of the times. Dukhovnyy grieves: "In former times, Maksim Gorkiy established a creative collective that took up the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Canal." It seems that it is possible to understand Gorkiy's role in our literature this way—everything depends on the taste and orientation of one's mind.

Are not the dictates of departments over our society and the state in general not continuing from this direction and from this same yearning?

A second question: How well-grounded is the diversion plan?

Its authors plan to remove 27 cubic kilometers from the Ob and supply 25 to the users based on the fact that losses along the way—with a canal length of 2,500 kilometers—will reach... 10 percent. You know however, this is an absurdity!

How much will all of this cost? Who has talked seriously—and not "out of thin air"—about this with us, as it has often happened when one has in mind "beginning" and investing the first 10 billion—and then the government has nowhere to retreat. It carries it through to its conclusion even if this conclusion makes no one comfortable. It is not necessary to travel far for an example—

there is BAM and—to some degree—the plan to divert a portion of the flow of northern rivers into the Volga, the same one that was halted by a government decree.

They sometimes say to me: If the subject concerns water for Central Asia, it is impossible to think about expenditures. However, it is always necessary to think about expenditures and, in any case, it is necessary to determine them in advance. It is necessary to separate what is necessary from the incidental and, moreover, the unnecessary and, even more, from criminal over-indulgence.

That is the way it is: According to very glib and flippant plans, the diversion project cannot in any way be carried out within 15-20 years. This is impermissible from the point of view of today's communal water supply needs in Central Asia. These needs must be satisfied in the next few years. There are real capabilities for doing this.

And, finally, the third thesis: If the diversion project is carried out, it will make no difference—it will not save the Aral. The supplying of a considerably larger amount of water than the project provides is required for this. Perhaps that is why the designers avoid data on balancing the Aral Sea in the polemics with their opponents?

The only irrefutable conclusion of the diversion proponents is that there is little water in Uzbekistan and a great deal in Siberia.

However, the practical capability of carrying out the project does not at all follow from this fact. Must and can, can and necessary, necessary and advisable—all of these are different concepts and the replacement of all of them by such a principle as the principle of "at any cost" is antiscientific, uneconomic, and immoral. You see, we already know and have tested the fact that it is this principle that has led us to the edge of an economic—and even closer to an ecological—crisis.

ZVEZDA VOSTOKA grieves for the fate of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and is indignant at the fact that Zalygin upbraids this invaluable ministry for mismanagement and for the fact that the return from a ruble invested in water handling facilities is 33 kopecks; he even mentions the billions of unfilled losses, the destruction of nature and the 10.5 billion ruble budget of the ministry plus the four-five billion rubles in the wage fund. In all, drainage and irrigation take 50-60 rubles a year from each person in the Soviet Union, and where is the result? In conformity with the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Zalygin uses the word "sabotage"—what a scare! He is astonished that not a single hair has yet fallen from the head of a single water management specialist—what is even more than frightening, he wants blood. Zalygin, what is it?!

And not a word about the fact that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is adroitly evading the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decree on halting the work to divert a portion of the northern rivers'

flow and is continuing it. This is nothing more than sabotage. Concerning blood, it is necessary to keep in mind that blood and responsibility are not one and the same thing, especially the responsibility for committed state crimes—even the suit of the Magadan oblispolkom against the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources totaling four billion rubles. And, you see, ten of these suits can be brought repeatedly.

All of these projects, which have already brought multi-billion losses—and no one knows even approximately how much more they will bring—all of these Karabogazy—there are dozens of them, millions of hectares of written-off land and the questionable, if one talks about adventurist ones, threading of diversions in the lower reaches of the Volga, in the Northwest and near Novosibirsk (the diversion specialists have already reached there)—have become possible primarily because they have been illuminated with the name of science. Science corroborates them; therefore work on them. Science sanctions them and science is preparing the "documents" on whose basis the government makes its decision about design and construction.

That is why each ministry must acquire its own scientific research institute and even better—if one manages to appropriate some one of the academic institutes, especially since the Academy of Sciences is eagerly striking such bargains—prestige and trust. The ministries feed the academy and the connection between science and production is also present.

For the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Institute for Water Problems has long been its "academic branch." This "connection" has recently become quite touching and frank—the Academy of Sciences has officially designated G. V. Voropayev, the director of this institute and a corresponding member, as a permanent consultant for the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. This was done after the government had passed the decree halting the diversion work—a decree which was worked up with the direct participation of that same Voropayev; after the experiences with Karabogaz, the Leningrad dam and others; and after a number of workers in this institute expressed a lack of trust in their director.

Who has not written about this more than strange "type" of highly scientific establishment that is slipping to the position of a ministry contractor: PRAVDA, NASH SOVREMENNİK, NOVYY MIR, OGONEK, and KROKODIL. It is not necessary to read all of them; however, it is strange that as soon as the affair reached the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, all charges aimed at this institute (including those coming from other departments) disappeared in the sand—it is not known where.

You see, three departments of the academy caught this institute in adjustments and falsifications and, along with it, the corresponding branch institutes of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources—you

know, there are more than 160 of them after all. The ministry is very rich and it will support science only if that science is what it needs in all cases of life without exception.

G. V. Voropayev, the "iron" director, has already scientifically refuted in succession all the charges which were advanced against him as an administrator and manager and against his infallible concepts.

Comrade Voropayev has managed to coordinate a great deal in very diverse academic and governmental departments; however, he has not obtained a concurrence from nature.

Here is where, it seems, agreement begins: at the personnel level. G. V. Voropayev is establishing a branch of his institute in Barnaul under the direction of his long-time colleague, corresponding member O. F. Vasilyev (do not confuse him with N. F. Vasilyev, the Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Resources). He is a consultant to V. A. Koptug, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch Presidium; and Koptug is director of a commission especially established for this. The permanent "water" commission has released academician B. N. Laskorin from his position, and the affair is again in the bag: The diversion plans have been "guaranteed" as has the comfortable existence of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. The matter has been coordinated in all departments. Two-three chairmen of really progressive kol'khozes spoke at a session of the academy's presidium in support of the achievements of this science. They told the academicians about the shining results that drainage and irrigation are providing on their land, they lavished praise on the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, they inveighed against its opponents, and they cited data that the production cost of a kilogram of meat was 1.20 rubles for them. Is this not an achievement?

Is this not scientific proof of the need for the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources to divert another 70 cubic kilometers of water for an alleged shortage in the country's water supply system—proof which will confirm all of these diversion projects and provide several billion rubles from the state budget? Information that, if the expenditures of the Ministry of Land-Reclamation and Water Resources itself were attributed to agricultural production (you see, this can in no way be otherwise), the production cost of that same kilogram would be... 16 rubles.

Is it not true that this is good science?

Other department nature users are learning successfully from the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources. In one of its letters, the Ministry of Power and Electrification directly requires that local soviets, the public and any type of nondepartmental expertise be barred from the discussion of plans for hydroelectric

power stations. It only recognizes its own expertise. How convenient: You yourself are the customer, the executor of your own order, and the expert.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Power and Electrification has submitted to the government a plan for building 93 new and powerful hydroelectric power stations by the year 2000 (at the present time, there are approximately 200 of them). The list contains the name of the hydroelectric power station, its capacity, its cost in millions of rubles, and its construction time. Is that everything? Where is the area to be flooded? This indicator is not there at all; it does not interest the Ministry of Power and Electrification.

What distinguishes a bureaucratic staff from a staff of workers and one that is truly a state staff? Primarily, it is the fact that a staff of workers uses evidence; and a bureaucratic one—concurrences.

It is impossible to picture to yourself what words and concepts are not being replaced and substituted for us by those distinctive and powerful words: "it has been agreed" and "concur". Everything that is convenient can be justified by a concurrence:

expertise—by a concurrence, mismanagement—by a concurrence, common sense—by a concurrence, illegal—by a concurrence, absurdity—by a concurrence.

Concurrence is encroaching on our entire life backwards and forwards. This concurrence is still a personnel question. You see, it is clear that it will come about more successfully, the more people and arbitrary workers, who are accustomed to each other and who catch each other's meaning at once, there are in the departments.

A generation of agree-ers, virtuosos and people who know their trade have already been reared in our system. They do not know anything else; it is not necessary for them to know anything else; there is only one school for them and only one experience. Look at the directorship of that same Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources—from what was it formed? It is composed of former instructors in the drainage and irrigation sector of the CPSU Central Committee agricultural department

and employees of the Council of Ministers. Being ministry workers, they are now going for concurrences to those very same offices in which they themselves served not so long ago.

What is this system developing in the individual—a knowledge of the job or the ability to coordinate the job?

No wonder that all restructuring is for them nothing more than a new or renovated system of concurrences.

Already new trends in the area of concurrence techniques are being successfully mastered and perfected, and the number of those coming and going has already significantly exceeded the pre-restructuring level.

It is not necessary to possess a rich imagination to picture where restructuring will end if the task moves further in this direction and if—as before—proof is replaced by concurrences.

Facts must be looked in the eye: this type of danger cannot be at all ruled out.

Not at all!

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Komi Language-Study Program on Television
18000670 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 16 Sep 88 p 2

[Report by Yu. Kovrizhnykh under the rubric "Yesterday: Events and Facts": "We Speak Komi"]

[Text] Syktyvkar—"We Speak Komi" is the title of a series of programs organized by the Syktyvkar Television Studio. Philologists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Ural Branch Komi Scientific Center are conducting these programs. They include an introduction to the grammar, phonetics, history and etymology of the Komi language and conversation practice.

In the autonomous republic where the native inhabitants comprise only one quarter of the population, general knowledge of Komi will aid in overcoming the language barrier and will promote broader relations among people of the most varied nationalities.

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